

*Facing the Title.*



*Vermeil Sculp.*



*Facing the Title.*



*Vermeil Sculp.*

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND.

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Written in *FRENCH* by *K*  
Mr. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

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Done into *ENGLISH*, with additional  
NOTES mark'd with an \*, by  
N. TINDAL, M. A. Vicar of  
Great Waltham in Essex.

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VOL. I.

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FROM THE  
INVASION of the ROMANS,  
To the End of the  
Reign of *William the Conqueror*.

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TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
**THOMAS**  
LORD HOWARD,  
BARON of EFFINGHAM,

*This TRANSLATION is most  
humbly dedicated.*

DR



TO THE  
RIGHT HONOURABLE  
THOMAS  
LORD HOWARD,  
Baron of EFFINGHAM

THE TRANSLATION  
OF



# The PREFACE.



THE *Translator*, when he first undertook this Translation, intended by omitting Repetitions, and abridging Passages of little or no Moment, to have reduc'd Mr. *Rapin's* History of *England* within a narrower Compass; but upon second Thoughts, believing 'twou'd be more satisfactory to the Reader to have the *Whole*, as it is in the Original, he soon dropt his Design, and resolv'd not only to give the *Publick* a full and fair Translation, but also to add some *Notes* and *Observations* relating to *Antiquities*, *Curiosities*, remarkable Occurrences, *Characters* of our *antient Historians* and their *Works*, *Persons* eminent for their *Valour* or *Learning*, and several other Particulars and Circumstances which, tho' an *Englishman* might be glad to know, 'twas not so proper for Mr. *Rapin* to enlarge upon, since his profess'd Design was the Information of *Foreigners*, to let them see by what Steps and Degrees *England* has grown up to that Height of Power and Grandeur it is in at present.

These additional Notes and Observations are mark'd with an *Asterisk* (\*), to distinguish them from the Author's, which have some Letter of the Alphabet prefix'd before them.

Before the Reader is inform'd how Mr. *Rapin* came to be engag'd in this Work, it may not be amiss to premise a brief Account of his Life and Character.

PAUL DE RAPIN THOYRAS was born at *Castres* in *Languedoc*, the 25th of *March* 1661. The RAPINS are originally



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originally from *Savoy*. Four Brothers of that Name came and settled in *France* in the Reign of *Francis the First*.

One of them was a *Churchman* and *Almoner* to Queen *Catherine de Medicis*.

His Brothers, of whom there was but one that left any Children, were *Protestants*, and all three Soldiers by Profession. The Eldest was Governor of *Montauban*, and one of the Heads of the *Reform'd* in the Provinces of *Dauphine*, *Provence*, *Languedoc* and *Guienne*. The *French* Historians mention him more than once, and have taken notice of the cruel Proceedings of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, in beheading *Philibert de Rapin* Great-Grandfather to Mr. *Rapin*, at the very time he was come, by the King's Order, to have the Treaty of Peace in 1568 registred there. 'Tis true indeed, Father *Daniel* passes over this Fact in Silence, and is content with aggravating the Disturbances rais'd by the *Huguenots* the following Year in the Country round about *Toulouse*, which serves to render them odious; whereas in Truth, what they did was in Revenge of *Philibert de Rapin's* Death, as appears from what the Soldiers wrote with Coals on the Ruins of the Houses they had burnt, as we find it related by *Mezerai*.

*Peter de Rapin* Baron of *Mauvers*, the Son of *Philibert* was Governor of *Mas-Granier*, one of the Towns deliver'd up to the *Reform'd* of *Guienne* for their Security. He had a very numerous Issue.

His second Son, *James de Rapin* *Sieur de Thoyras*, was the only One of his Family that applied himself to Study. He was *Advocate* in the *Chambre de l'Edit* at *Castres*\*, and exercis'd the Functions of his Profession as well in that City as at *Castelnandary* and *Toulouse*, above fifty Years. They who knew him, unanimously give him the Character of one of the *Prime* Advocates of his Time, and assure us, few equall'd him in Impartiality and Integrity. He left several Children. *Jane de Pellison*, his Wife, Daughter to one of

\* *Les Chambres de l'Edit*, or *de l'Edit de Nantes*, were Courts of Judicature erected in several Towns in *France*, in behalf of the *Huguenots*, the Judges whereof were half of the *Reform'd*, and half of the *Roman Catholick*, Religion.

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of the Counsellors of the *Chambre of Castres*, and Sister to the famous *George and Paul Pellisson*, after having been confin'd for a good while to a Convent, was at last sent by the King's Order to *Geneva*, where she died in 1705. Mr. *de Rapin* the Historian was their youngest Son. When he had laid the Foundations of Learning at *Puylaurens* and *Sannur* he return'd to his Father, with a Design to apply himself closely to the Study of the Law. But before he had made any Progress he was oblig'd, with abundance of other young Gentlemen, to commence *Advocate*, upon Report that an *Edict* was going to be publish'd, wherein 'twas ordain'd that no Man shou'd have a *Doctor's Degree* without having studied five Years in some *University*.

This same Year the *Chambre de l'Edit* was suppress'd, which oblig'd Mr. *Rapin's* Family to remove to *Toulouse*. The State of the *Reform'd* growing every Day worse, Mr. *Rapin* desir'd his Father's Leave to quit the Profession of *Advocate* for that of Arms. His Father without absolutely denying his Request, return'd him such an Answer as serv'd to prolong the time; accordingly several Years pass'd, without any thing being determin'd in the Matter.

In 1685 his Father died, and two Months after the *Edict of Nantes* was revok'd. Upon which Mr. *Rapin* retir'd into the Country with his Mother and Brothers. But as the Persecution was then at its Height, he departed for *England* with his youngest Brother, where he arriv'd in *March* in 1686.

He was not long in *London*, before he receiv'd several Visits from a *French Abbot*, a Person of Quality and Friend to Mr. *Pellisson*, Uncle to Mr. *Rapin*, who introduc'd him to Mr. *Barrillon* the *French Ambassador*, from whom he receiv'd a great many Civilities. These two Gentlemen wou'd fain have perswaded him to kiss the King's Hand, and offer'd to introduce him, assuring him he wou'd be kindly receiv'd. Mr. *Rapin*, who cou'd not see what Grounds he had to pretend to this Honour, and besides being apprehensive, that a Proposal seemingly so advantageous might tend to his Prejudice, excus'd himself in the handsom'st Manner he cou'd. Quickly after he went into the Country to avoid



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avoid the Abbot's frequent Visits, which made him uneasy, and appear'd to him of dangerous Consequence.

Having Nothing to hope for in *England* at that time, he went over into *Holland*, and list'd himself in a *Company* of *French Volunteers* that was at *Utrecht* under the Command of Mr. *de Rapin* his Cousin-german.

A little after the breaking out of the War in 1689, he was made an *Ensign* in an *English* Regiment, and afterwards a Lieutenant. He serv'd as *Aide de Camp* to Lieutenant General *Douglas*, then his Colonel, who put great Trust in him.

At the Taking of *Limerick* he was shot in the Shoulder by a Musket Ball. This Wound, which was a long time a curing, proved very prejudicial to him, as it prevented him from attending Mr. *Douglas* into *Flanders*, who wou'd fain have had him with him, and in whose Power it was at that time to have done some thing considerable for him. However he had a *Company* given him.

In 1693, the Earl of *Portland*, who had heard his Character, resolv'd to make him Governor to his Son the present Duke of *Portland*: Accordingly, when Mr. *de Rapin* thought nothing of the Matter, he receiv'd in *Ireland*, where he then was, an Order from the King to repair forthwith into *England* and enter upon his Employ of Governor. He lost by that means the Hopes of arriving at those Posts in the Army, which several of his Fellow-officers attain'd to, and all the Recompence he receiv'd was, Leave to resign his Commission to his younger Brother, who died in 1719, after having been made Lieutenant-Colonel in a Regiment of *English* Dragoons. 'Tis true indeed the King gave him a Pension of a hundred Pounds a Year, till such time as he shou'd provide for him better, which never happen'd; so he enjoy'd his Pension during the King's Life; after which it was taken from him, and in lieu of it he had a Place given him, which brought him in but a moderate Income.

He married in 1699, whilst he was Governor to the Duke of *Portland*, but however that did not hinder him from accompanying the young Lord into *Italy*.

At his return he spent some Years at the *Hague*.

In 1707 he retir'd with his Family to *Wezel* in the Duchy of



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of *Cleves* in *Germany*, where he made it the whole Business of the Residue of his Life to write the History of *England*. Tho' he was of a strong Constitution, in all likelihood this Work shortn'd his Days; his incredible Pains and Application quite exhausted his strength some Years since, and he found himself from time to time attack'd with a violent Pain in his Stomach, till at length a Fever, attended with an Oppression in his Breast carried him off after a Week's Illness, on the 16th of *May* last 1725. He has left behind him one Son and Six Daughters.

He liv'd to publish eight Volumes of his History, which end with the tragical Death of King *Charles I.* *Alexander de Rogissart*, Bookseller at the *Hague*, promises to give the Publick the remaining Part found among the Papers of Mr. *de Rapin*, which brings down the History to the Act of Parliament wherein an Offer is made of the Crown to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*.

Mr. *de Rapin* was naturally of a serious Temper, tho' he was no Enemy to innocent Mirth. He was a great Lover of *Musick*, in which he had some Skill. He spent some time in the Study of the *Mathematicks*, especially the *Art of Fortification*. He was Master of *Italian*, *Spanish* and *English*, besides *Greek* and *Latin*, which qualified him to read the Authors he was oblig'd to consult, in their own Language. He employ'd all his Leisure-Hours in reading and conversing with such as led a regular Life, and lov'd to reason and reflect on things. This indeed gain'd him sometimes the Displeasure of some of his Superiors, who wou'd have had him spent his time with them in Trifles; but on the other hand it prov'd of great advantage to him, as it procur'd him the Friendship of several Persons of Merit, some of whom were in very eminent Posts.

When Mr. *Rapin* first sat about this Work, he little thought of writing a compleat History of *England*. His long stay in our Island, having given him an opportunity of learning our Language, and his Post in the Army, during the War in *Ireland*, having even oblig'd him to it, he diligently applied himself to the reading of *English* Books, especially such as treated of the Government and History of

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*England* after the *Norman Conquest*. As his Curiosity still led him on, and as he had leisure enough, he was not satisfied with a reasonable knowledge of the *Nature*, but wanted also to be inform'd of the *Original* of the *English Constitution*. To this Purpose, he thought it necessary to peruse carefully the History of the *Anglo-Saxons*, who first introduc'd this Form of Government into *Great Britain*. He found this to be a very disagreeable and discouraging Task. But however as he look'd upon this Part of the *English* History as the *Basis* and *Ground-work* of all the rest, he waded thro' all Difficulties, and out of a confus'd Heap of Rubbish, without any order or Connexion, he made a Shift to carry on a Series of Facts, tho' often broken and interrupted. In a Word, he went back as far as the time of *Julius Caesar*, who was the first, that made an Attempt upon our Island. Here he fix'd the Beginning of his History, and continued it to the *Norman Conquest*, without any Design of proceeding any farther. But not knowing how to employ his time better, and besides finding, that after the *Conquest*, the *Scene* began to open, as if from a wild and untrodden Desert, he was on a sudden transplanted into a cultivated Country, where the Way was smooth and easy, he resolv'd upon going on. However, when he came to the Reign of *Henry II*, he was once more upon the Point of stopping short in the midst of his Career, when he met with an unexpected Assistance, which not only induc'd him to continue his History, but to do it in a more full and particular Manner than at first he intended, namely, Mr. *Rymer's* Collection of *Publick Acts*, which began to be publish'd at the Expence of the Government, about twenty Years ago. In 1708, six *Volumes* were compleated, which are since encreas'd to Seventeen, and have been sold for a hundred Guineas. My Lord *Halifax* a great Promoter of this Noble Work, sent the *Volumes*, as they came out, to the famous Mr. *Le Clerc*, who generously lent them our Author, as long as he had occasion for them. 'Tis said the Government is going to reprint them with the Addition of three *Volumes* more.

It is easy to see, what a mighty Help this invaluable *Collection* was to Mr. *Rapin* in compiling his History, since there



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is not one *Act* of Moment omitted in it, that our *Publick Records* can produe, from the Reign of *Henry I.* to that of *King Charles I.* And that he did actually make a great Use of this *Collection*, the World may be satisfied from his taking the Pains to make an Abridgment of the whole *Seventeen Volumes*, with great Judgment and Accuracy, wherein you have all the Important Acts pointed out, a well connected *Series* of Events, to which they relate, and the use that may be made of them in clearing up the *English History*. This to a Man not so thoroughly acquainted with all the Parts of the History of *England* as *Mr. Rapin*, wou'd have been the Work of his Life, but to him, who knew the End and Motive of every Act recorded by *Mr. Rymer*, it was no more than a Diversion. This *Abstract*, without which it is difficult to know the just Value of *Mr. Rymer's* noble Collection, lies dispers'd up and down in the several Volumes of *Mr. Le Clerc's Bibliotheque Choisie*. It was reprinted in one Volume by *Scheltus* at the *Hague*, by the Order of *Mr. Fagel* Pensionary of *Holland*, who had only thirty Copies work'd off. By the way, *Mr. Rapin*, to let us see he had a thorough knowledge of the Nature of our *Parties* and *Factions* in *England*, publish'd also some time since a little Treatise entitled, *A Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories*, which was very well approv'd of, and has been translated into *English, Dutch, Danish*, and twice into *High-Dutch*. The particular Uses *Mr. Rapin* made of *Rymer's Fœdera* and the Method he pursued in compiling his History, are briefly related in the Conclusion of this Preface, which was printed before this Part was finish'd.

From what has been said, it is plain that *Mr. Rapin* had the Advantage of all our Historians, by the rich Fund of *Materials* he was supplied with from *Rymer's Fœdera*: The which serves in a great Measure to remove the Objection of his being a Foreigner, an Objection, that naturally arises in the Mind of an *Englishman*. But if we farther consider, that besides the above mention'd Advantage, he not only, as he assures us himself and as is evident from their Names in the Margin, carefully perus'd all the *English Historians*, but also confronted them with those of the Neighboring States, when



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Occasion requir'd, we must own that this Objection entirely vanishes, and that in case his *Judgment* and *Abilities* were equal to the Work (which is left to the Publick to determine) he was in all other Respects as well qualified for it as any *Englishman* can be.

As his *Assistances* were extraordinary, so there's reason to believe his *Impartiality* was uncommon. For besides his Privilege, as a Foreigner, of speaking the Truth freely, without Fear of offending any Party, he had no Motive or Interest to induce him to be partial for or against *England*, or any of the Neighboring *States*. His Life, as hath been seen, was equally spent in *France*, *England*, *Holland* and *Germany*. From the time he first took this Work in Hand, he had no *Post*, or *Pension*, nor exercis'd any *Profession*, which might give him a *Bias* to one Nation more than another; and as he had no particular Obligations to any of the foresaid *States*, so he had no reason to complain of their ever having done him the least Injustice.

But notwithstanding his keeping the Ballance from inclining to either Side, he plainly foresaw People's Prejudices in favour of their own Nation wou'd prevent them from doing him Justice upon several Occasions. But this was a Rock he cou'd not avoid. How was it possible, for Instance, to relate the Contests between the *English* and *Scots*, to the Satisfaction of both Parties? The War between them in the XIVth Century, about the *Sovereignty* of the Kings of *England* over *Scotland*, is a Subject that cannot be handled with all its Circumstances, without exasperating the one or the other. The *Scots* are perswaded that *Edward I.* acted very unjustly with their Ancestors, and that *Edward III.* his Grandson trod in his Steps. The *English*, on the contrary, are of opinion that their Kings had *Then* and a long time *Before* an uncontestable Right of *Sovereignty* over all *Scotland*, and that *Edward the First's* War upon that account, was very just and lawful. Our Author owns, he has decided the Cause in favour of the *Scots*, as verily believing the Truth was on their Side. For which reason he has endeavour'd to set this whole Matter in the clearest Light possible, thinking it the Duty of an Historian to correct such Errors as have gather'd  
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Strength from *Time*, or the Carelessness and Prejudices of former Writers.

The Quarrel between *Edward III.* and *Philip of Valois*, in which so much Blood was spilt, is an Instance of the same Nature, and where 'tis next to an Impossibility to please both the *English* and *French*. Among the *French*, as Mr. *Rapin* observes, the *Salick Law* is a *Noli me tangere*. One must, to satisfy them, not only acknowledge the *Antiquity*, but also forbear inquiring into the *Meaning* and *Extent* of that Law. The *English*, on the other side, are no less prejudic'd in this Matter. Without considering that *Edward* cou'd have no Right to the Crown of *France*, but by supposing the Validity of the *Salick Law*, they alledge against it such Reasons, as are not only of no Service to their Cause, but even prejudicial to that Prince's Claims. Our Author declares, the Fear of displeasing either Party has laid no Restraint upon him. He has explain'd in a *Dissertation* at the End of *Edward the Third's* Reign, what is meant by the *Salick Law*, wherein consisted the Dispute between the two Kings, and made appear, that their respective *Rights* were of such a Nature, as not to be determin'd by that Law without great Difficulty.

But, as our Author further remarks, if there's hardly any pleasing two contending Nations in a faithful Relation of their Contests and Quarrels, 'tis full as difficult to content the *English* themselves in things about which they are divided in their Opinions; for Instance, the *Prerogatives of the King*, the *Privileges of Parliament*, the *Succession to the Crown*, and the like. Mr. *Rapin* observes that Disputes on these Points were first set on Foot among us in the last *Century*, by two opposite Parties; one whereof stood up for an *Absolute* and *Arbitrary* Power in the King, whilst the other endeavour'd not only to divest him of his Just *Prerogatives*, but even to make him dependent on the Parliament. These two Extremes he thinks are equally to be condemn'd, and declares as he has no Motive or Interest to incline him to either Party, he has done his utmost to come at the Truth thro' the *Passions* and *Prejudices* of the Writers on both Sides. He has fairly confronted the  
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Facts laid down by the several Historians, received for true, such as they all agree in, and of such, as are variously related, he admitted none, but what are supported by strong Evidence. Remarkable Instances of this, are the *Barons Wars*, (the Rise and Progress of which are accounted for clearly by Mr. *Rapin*, and but very confusedly by others, for want of the Assistance of *Rymer's Fœdera*) and also the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James I.*, and King *Charles I.*, as shall be shown in due Place.

Thus it appears, that our Author, by his long and laborious Study of the *Saxon Affairs*, and of the *Nature and Origin* of our *Constitution*, by his extraordinary Assurances from *Rymer's Fœdera*, and his little Temptation to conceal or misrepresent the Truth, has certainly the Advantage of all our Historians hitherto extant. But tho' *Truth* and *Impartiality*, and a thorough Knowledge of all Particulars, are the chiefest and most necessary Qualifications in an Historian, yet these are not All. 'Tis not the bare telling of a true and faithful Story, 'Tis not a tedious, tho' exact, *Chronicle*, nor a laborious Collection of *Manuscripts* and *Publick Records*, put together in a barren Stile, that will ever be deem'd a *History*. An Historian, as Mr. *Echard* well observes, is not so much to fill his Reader's Head, as to enlarge his Mind; not so much to load his Memory, as to enrich his Understanding, to elevate his Thoughts, and even to captivate his Affections. A Character that None more justly deserves than Mr. *Rapin*. You'll find throughout his Preformance, a judicious Proportion of all the Parts; a Simplicity of Narration; an unaffected Stile; lively Descriptions; short and proper Reflections; a good Conduct and an animating Spirit that affects the Reader, as if personally concerned in every Action. In short, the *Original* wants but few of those Perfections, that the great Criticks, *le Moyne* and others, have laid down as requisite to a compleat History. It will be necessary to add here, that such Readers, whose chief Aim is to divert themselves, are desir'd not to pass a Judgment on the History in General, from that Part which relates to the *Saxon Affairs*. This is to be



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be look'd upon as separated from, or at least, as serving only for the Foundation of all the rest. However those, whose End is Instruction, will certainly find their Account in it.

Mr. *Rapin*, as has been observ'd, professing to write for the Information of *Foreigners*, was oblig'd to give a particular Account of the *English Constitution*. The following *Dissertation* therefore was design'd purely for the Instruction of such as are entire Strangers to our *Government*, which being different, as he remarks, from all others, the Reader as well as Historian, shou'd take great care never to lose Sight of, for fear of falling into wrong Notions and gross Mistakes.



## The ORIGIN and NATURE of the ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

THE Government of *England* is a *mixt* and *limited* Monarchy, as it is certain all the Governments in *Europe* establish'd by the *northern* Nations formerly were. They were *Monarchies*, invested not with *absolute* and *arbitrary*, but with a Power *bounded* by the National Laws. Such is still the *English Constitution*, what Changes soever have happen'd in the other *European* Kingdoms. The *King* and *People* make but *one Body*, of which the *King* is *Head*. He rules and puts in Motion all the other Members, takes Care of their Welfare, and ought always to have an Eye to the Publick, to procure their Good, and guard them against all Ills that threaten them. By watching thus for the *Publick*, he consults his own Interest, since being strictly united with his Subjects, he is sure to reap great Benefit from all the *Blessings* he brings upon them.

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But to put the King in a Capacity to do all this effectually, it was necessary he should have *Great Power* and a *Revenue* large enough to live with Splendor; in order to attract Reverence and Veneration from the People. It was necessary he shou'd have some *Privileges* approaching *Absolute Power*, as the *Command of the Armies and fortified Places*, *The Putting the Laws in Execution*, *Administring Justice in his own Name*, *The Pardoning of Condemned Criminals*, *The Disposal of all Places of Trust or Profit*, *The Calling and Dissolving the Parliament*, *The not Passing Bills that he judges contrary to the Publick Good*, *The Proclaiming Peace and War*. These are call'd the *Prerogatives of the King*, or of the *Crown*. I don't pretend to give an exact List of them. I am sensible some extend them much farther: but all I wou'd observe here is, that the King has *Great Prerogatives*, and that they were the Effect or Consequence of the mutual Agreement of the first *Anglo-Saxon* Kings with their People. There is nothing wanting to the King, to render him *Happy and Powerful*. His Revenues are more than enough to discharge his ordinary Expences, and to reward those, who distinguish themselves by their Merit, besides the Preferments in the *Church, State and Army*, which he may bestow on whom he pleases. Has he a just War to maintain? He is not oblig'd to burthen his People with Taxes and Impositions. 'Tis the People themselves that voluntarily furnish him with all things necessary. Thus without ever lying under a Necessity of heaping up Riches for the time to come, he is always sure of finding in the Purses of his Subjects where.

There were but two Things the *Saxons* did not think convenient to entrust their Kings with, for fear of the Consequences attending the ill use of them; *The Power of changing the Laws that had been enacted by Consent of King and People*; and *the Power of raising Taxes by his own Will and Pleasure*. These are the two *Important* Articles, that branch themselves forth into numberless Particulars relating to the *Liberty and Property* of the Subjects, which the King can't meddle with, without breaking in upon the *Constitution*, and which are the distinguishing Marks of the *English Monarchy* from



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narchy from all others. *The Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Rights and Priviledges of the People*, flowing from the two *Articles* above, are the *Ground-work* of all the Laws that from time to time have been made by the *unanimous* Consent of King and People. The *English* Government consists in an exact Correspondence between the King's *Prerogatives* and the People's *Liberties*. So far are these from destroying, or running counter to, one another, that they are the *strongest* Cement of that *strict* Union so necessary between the Prince and People. The King, by means of his *Prerogatives*, is in a Condition to protect his Subjects, to see the Laws duly executed, and Justice impartially administred, to defend the Weak from their powerful Oppressors, to assist the Unfortunate, and punish the Disturbers of the Society. On the other hand, the People, whilst in possession of their *Liberties*, placing their whole Confidence in the Laws and the King's Care in duly executing them, live securely without the least Apprehensions of losing their Lives or Properties. They enjoy the Fruits of their own Labour and Industry, which in the end turns to the King's Advantage, since from the People it is, that the King has All he stands in need of. If they make their Court to the *Nobles*, it is only when their Interest or Assistance may be necessary, and not out of fear of being oppress'd by them, since the *Greatest* are equally subject to the Laws, with the *Meanest*.

It can't be denied but such a Government is extremely well calculated to render both Prince and People Happy. But when King's arose, as some there were, that aim'd at *absolute Power*, by changing the *Old* and making *New* Laws at pleasure, and by imposing *illegal* and *arbitrary* Taxes on the People, this excellent Government by these Proceedings being in some measure dissolved, *Confusion* and *Civil Wars* ensu'd, which some very *wrongfully* attribute to the *unsettled* Temper of the *English* Nation. On the other hand, the People did not always sit down contented



with their Privileges, when once the King had made an attempt upon them, but for fear of the like Attempts for the future, proceeded to Measures very destructive of the just Rights of the Crown. And this is the reason why the *Prerogative* does not at present run so *high* as formerly.

Since then the *English Constitution* consists in an *Intimate Union* between the Prince and People, like that between the Head and Body, it follows, it is in its utmost Perfection and Glory whilst this Union lasts, and both Parties, without any mutual Fears or Jealousies, securely enjoy their respective *Rights* and *Privileges*.

Now in order to preserve a perfect Union between the King and his Subjects, it was necessary some way of Communication and Intercourse between them shou'd be established. This was done by the means of a *Wittena-Gemot* or *Assembly of Wise Men*, who were the *Representatives* of the whole Nation. This Method the *Saxons* brought with them from *Germany*, where all Publick Affairs were transacted in such like *Conventions*; of which their Generals, chosen in the time of War, were Presidents. However they were oblig'd to recede somewhat from the *German Model*; for in *Germany* they had no Kings, the *Supream Power* being lodg'd in the *Wittena-Gemot*, whereas in *England* their Chiefs, or Leaders took upon them the Title of Kings. *Hengist*, as he was the first that brought the *Saxons* into *England*, so was he the first that assumed this Title, in all probability with the Approbation of the *Saxons* that were under his Command. For since he was not their Natural King, how was it possible he shou'd become so without their Consent? But it must be observed *Hengist* may be consider'd in two different Respects. At his Arrival in *Great-Britain* he was certainly no more than General of the *Saxons*. But after he had obtain'd the Grant of the Kingdom of *Kent*, from *Vortigern*, He became as much King of that Country as *Vortigern* was before him. But still

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this did not make him King of the *Saxons*, of whom he was only entrusted with the Command. So that, in all appearance the *Saxons*, by consenting their General shou'd become their Sovereign, did not invest him with an absolute Power over their Lives and Properties, supposing, what wou'd be extreamly difficult to prove, he had had such a Power over his *British* Subjects. There is a remarkable Passage in the History of *France* to our Purpose. *Clovis* was King of the *Franks*, before he led his Army into *Gaul*, and his large Conquests there gave him no more Power over his own Countrymen than he had before. This is evident from his being prevented by a common Soldier from presenting the Arch-Bishop of *Rheims*, with a Piece of Plate taken among the Plunder. The Soldier cou'd not bear the King shou'd appropriate to himself what belong'd to all in common, so hew'd it in pieces with his Battle-Ax [and took his share.] The King, who knew he had gone beyond his Power, did not dare to punish him upon the Spot, and tho' he took an Occasion to put him to Death afterwards, it was upon some other Account, wherein he might lawfully do it. It may then with good Reason be affirm'd that the *Saxon* Generals, by taking upon them the Title of King, acquir'd not a *Despotic* Power over their own Followers, by whose means they had conquer'd *Britain*; And therefore it behov'd them to find out some means to hinder them from usurping such a Power, which cou'd be done no better way than by general Assemblies, consisting of the King and the Chiefs of the People, where the Balance might be kept even betwixt both Parties. It is moreover to be observed that there is one material difference between the settling of the *Franks* in *Gaul* and the *Saxons* in *Britain*. In *Gaul*, the number of the Conquer'd was always superior to that of the Conquerors. Whereas in *Britain*, if any *Britons* remain'd in the conquer'd Provinces they were only few in number, and Those in state of Slavery. So that the Country was inhabi-  
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ted properly with none but *Saxons*, *Jutes* and *Angles*, over whom the Conquests that were achiev'd by their own Arms, cou'd give no Power to their first Kings but what they consented to. We are ignorant indeed of the Particulars that were agreed upon by these Kings and their People : but the Liberties they afterwards enjoyed under them, are plain Proofs that there was at first some Plan or Scheme drawn up by Consent of both Parties.

It is no easy matter to know distinctly who the *Witten*, or *Wisemen* were that compos'd their *Wittena-Gemots*. At first They might only be made up of the *Saxon* Officers, among whom the conquer'd Lands were divided, and who from thence became the *Chief* Men in the several States. In process of time, the *Britons* having entirely abandon'd their Country, the Conquerors, finding they were not numerous enough to cultivate the Whole, sent for Multitudes of Families from *Germany*, to whom the Overplus of the Lands were given. These Distributions were made in this Manner. The new King gave to Those of his Followers that were distinguish'd by their Birth, Services, or Personal Merit, such a Portion of Land, on condition they serv'd the Crown upon certain Occasions, which they parcell'd out again to others with a reservation of such and such *Services* to themselves. These two Sorts of Possessors were called *Thanes*, that is, *Servants* : but the First were distinguish'd by the Title of *the King's Thanes*, which answers to that of the *immediate Vassals of the Crown*. These after the *Norman* Conquests were called *Barons*, and in Process of Time, *Peers of the Realm*. For *Earl* and *Duke* were only honorary Titles or Names of Offices. No one denies that the *King's Thanes* were Members of the *Wittena-Gemots* : but whether the other *Thanes* were so, is much disputed, as we shall see in the Dissertation at the End of the first Volume. All I shall say at present is, that each Kingdom had its Assembly of *Witten* or *Wisemen*, who, in Conjunction with the King, regulated



gulated all important Affairs, made Laws and Ordinances, and rais'd Taxes. As Nothing was done but by the mutual Consent of the King and the *Convention*, their Interests not being separate, and their Aims the same, namely the Good of the Publick, this is a clear Evidence that the Essence of their Government consisted in a close Union between King and People. If we look into the Histories of the other *European* Kingdoms founded by the *Northern* Nations, we shall find the like Assemblies under different Names, as *Dyets*, in *Germany*, and *Poland*, and *Cortez*, in *Spain*. It is no wonder then the *Saxons* should establish in *England* the only Form of Government they knew any thing of.

After the *Conquest* These *Assemblies* were called *Parliaments*. If *William the Conqueror* continued them, which is a great Question, it was not with the same *Rights* and *Priviledges* they enjoyed under the *Saxon* Kings. In the following Reigns some Footsteps of them appear, which make it thought They were not entirely laid aside. However *Parliaments* were not frequent till the Reign of King *John* and *Henry III*, in whose Reign, several affirm, and not without Grounds, that the *Commons* for the first time, sent *Representatives* to Parliament; In all probability the *Lords* and *Commons*, after their Separation, the time whereof is unknown, met in two different Houses, since the *English* at this day call the two *Rooms*, where they Assemble, tho' under the same Roof, *Houses*, The *Upper House* or *House of Lords*, and the *Lower House*, or *House of Commons*. It is but since the Reign of *Edward I*. Successor to *Henry III*. that there has been a continued Series of *Parliaments* without interruption.

After the *Commons* became a distinct *House* from the *Lords*, they look'd upon themselves as the sole *Representatives* of the People, by whom they were chosen. The *Lords* cou'd pretend to no more than to act for themselves or for the Body of the Nobility, as making

making a considerable Part of the Nation. However this be, the *Barons* of whom in all appearance, the *Parliament*, in the Beginning, consisted, lost by degrees a great many of their antient *Rights*, and the House of Commons came to be consider'd as the Guardians of the People's Interests and Liberties. However the *Lords* still retain very great Priviledges; they are the Highest Court of Justice in the Kingdom; they have a Power to bring in, approve and throw out *Bills*; in a word, they always make an *essential* Part of *Parliament*. The *Bishops* and *Abbots*, who had all along a *Right* to sit in *Parliament*, had it continued to them after the *Conquest*. It can't well be doubted but that they had a *Seat* in the *Wittena-Gemots* as the *King's Thanes*, or *Barons*, since they were the immediate *Tenants in Fee* of the Crown: but it is not so certain, that they enjoyed this *Right*, as *Representatives* of the Clergy.

The *Commons* as a Consequence of their being the *Representatives* of the People, claim an undisputed *Right* of raising Taxes and granting Money to the King. So that the *House of Lords* in this Case have nothing to do but to *pass*, or *throw out*, the *Bill* without offering to make any Alterations or Amendments.

Thus, the Two *Houses of Parliament* compose the *Body* of the Nation, in Conjunction with the King, the *Head*. The close and absolutely necessary Union between the *King* and *Parliament* appears in nothing so much as in the Manner of making an *Act of Parliament* or *Law*. When either of the two *Houses* designs to bring in a *Bill*, (for so is an *Act* called before it is *pass'd*) after they have examin'd and debated every *Clause*, it is sent to the Other *House* for their Approbation; If it passes there, it is brought to the King for the *Royal Assent*, after which, and not before, it has the *Form* and *Force* of a *Law*. But if either of the *Houses* throw it out or the King refuse his *Assent*, it comes to nothing, just as if it had never been brought in. This *Proceeding* is evident Demonstration, that the *Essence* of the *English Government* consists



lists in the *Union* between the King and his People. Take away this Union, and the *whole* becomes mere *Confusion* and *Anarchy*.

Whether the *Commons* originally sat in *Parliament* or have done so only since the Reign of *Henry III.* it is certain their Power by degrees is very much encreas'd, chiefly upon Account of their giving out that they are the sole *Representatives* of the People; which they were not look'd upon to be in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* since we find He applied to the *Barons* for a Supply of Money. But this is not the only Privilege they have lately acquir'd. Upon their Separation from the *Lords*, the Interests of the two *Houses* were not the same upon all Occasions. They had frequent Contests about their particular *Rights*. But generally the *Commons* were too hard for the *Lords*; and no Wonder, since they had the disposal of the Nation's Money in their Hands.

On the other hand, as great Alterations have happen'd with regard to the *Lords* or *Peers*. Formerly all the *immediate Vassals* of the Crown were *Barons*, and, as such, had a Seat in Parliament. But *now*, as there are none of those Lands in being that were stil'd *Fiefs of the Crown*, the Right of Sitting in the *House of Lords* is annex'd to the bare Titles of *Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount* and *Baron*, which give them no Power over the *Shires, Cities, or Lands* whose Names they bear, and which the King may bestow on whom he pleases. But however as soon as these *Titles* are confer'd on a Family, the *Head* of it can't be depriv'd of his Right to sit in Parliament, unless he has been judicially condemn'd by his *Peers* for some Crime that renders him unworthy of it.

But it must be observ'd, it is in the King's Power to extend or confine within what bounds he thinks fit, the Right of succeeding to these *Honors*, so that sometimes, tho' rarely, he makes it descend to the *Female* in default of *Male Heirs*. Tho' a *Peer* only has a *Right to sit in the House of Lords*, yet the King may,



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if he pleases, call the Son of a *Nobleman* to the *House of Peers* in his Father's Life-time. The *inferior Titles* are always included in the *Superior*, so that every *Duke* is at the same time *Marquis*, *Earl*, *Viscount* and *Baron*. Thus All *Noblemen* are *Barons*, and that is what properly qualifies them to sit in Parliament, conformably to the antient Usage. For before and a long time after the *Conquest*, the *Lords of Parliament* were consider'd only as the *King's Thanes* or *Barons*. For this reason the *Civil Wars* in the Reigns of King *John* and *Henry III.* are called, *the Barons Wars*. The Title of *Duke* was first confer'd in *England*, after the *Conquest*, by *Edward III.* on his eldest Son, whom he made *Duke of Cornwall*. The Title of *Marquis* is of a much later Date. In the time of the *Saxons*, *Earls*, or *Counts* were properly Governours or Chiefs of *Shires* or *Counties*, so called from them. *William the Conqueror* having distributed the Lands of the *English* among his Followers, They on whom he confer'd the Title of *Earls* or *Counts* became really and truly *Lords* of those *Lands*, from whence their Titles were taken, and so became *Hereditary* in their Families. Afterwards, the precise time whereof is not known, they lost this Privilege, and the Title of *Earl*, as was before observ'd, was only *Honorary*. The *Viscounts*, under the *Saxon Kings*, were Lieutenants to the *Earls* in their *Counties*. They discharg'd the Office of *High-Sheriff*, which is now left to inferior Officers, whilst the *Viscounts* are rank'd among the *Peers*, and have even the Precedence of the *Barons*. This last Title was formerly *General*, and included the whole Body of the *Nobility* or *Peers of the Realm*, of whom the *Upper House* of Parliament consists. Next to These are what they call in *England*, the *Gentry*, who, tho' distinguish'd by several Titles, as *Knight*, *Esquire*, &c. are all included in the Body of the *Commons*, out of whom the *Knights of the Shire* and *Burgesses* are elected to set in the *Lower House* of Parliament to the Number of 513 : but it seldom happens that All

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meet together at once; Forty are sufficient to make a House.

From what hath been said, it is plain there are absolutely but two Ways to deprive the *English* of their *Liberties*. Either by laying aside *Parliaments* entirely, or by bribing the *Members* to sacrifice their Country to their Ambition or Avarice. Both these Methods have been tryed more than once, and for some time with seeming Success, but in the End have turn'd to the Ruin and Destruction of the Projectors. The *English* have all along been extreamly jealous of their *Liberties*, and by that means have continued their *Constitutions* upon the same Foot in a manner, as it was at the Beginning of their *Monarchy*.

After laying down this general Plan of our Government, which was purely intended for the Benefit of Foreigners, our Author refers his Readers for a more full and particular Account of this matter to the Reign of King Alfred in Book ivth, and to his curious Dissertation at the End of his first Volume, and then proceeds to acquaint the World with the Method he has observed in writing this History, about which he has now been actually employ'd for Seventeen Years. He has laid it down as a constant Rule not to take for his Guide any Modern Historian, in what pass'd before the Reign of Henry VIII. but to apply as much as possible to the Fountain Head. What has given him the most Trouble is, the National Partiality of Historians upon these two important Articles, the Violation of Treaties, and the Success of Battles. As to the Former of these, where the Truth was no other way to be come at, he has generally concluded the Treaty was broken by those, whose Interest was to have it so. And for the Latter, when he has not been able to determine on which side the Victory lay from the Advantages that follow'd it, he has taken care to inform the Reader of the Differences of Historians upon that Head.

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Besides our English ones, Mr. de Rapin, whenever it was necessary, has carefully consulted and examin'd Foreign Historians, whether they wrote in Latin, French, Italian, or Spanish. But the greatest Assistance, and what no English Historian had ever the Advantage of before him, has been from the vast Collection of Publick Acts by Mr. Rymer, in Seventeen large Folio's. By these he has been enabled, 1. to correct the Dates of numberless Facts. 2. To discover multitudes of Mistakes in the best English, Scotch, French, Italian, and Spanish Historians. 3. To determine upon many Occasions the Differences and Disputes among Historians. 4. To insert in his History several Events which are either wholly omitted or but slightly mention'd by others. Upon these and many other Accounts it is that this History is to be distinguish'd from All that have been publish'd before Rymer's *Fœdera*. He begins with the Invasion of the Romans, and ends with the Reign of King Charles I. He has follow'd the Example of Mezeray in giving an Account of the State of the Church, at the close of every Century, and has inserted many curious Dissertations in the Body of his History, particularly on the Customs, Laws, Government, Religion and Language of the Anglo-Saxons, which are absolutely necessary for a right understanding the Laws and Customs of England now in Use. Also on the Salick Law, on the Maid of Orleans, &c.

The Author, tho' by Principle a Presbyterian, yet professes a great Respect for the Church of England, and always communicated with it, during his stay here.

INTRO



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## THE INTRODUCTION.

*The Extent of Great Britain or Albion. Whence so called. The first Inhabitants. Customs, and Manners of the Britons. Their way of Fighting, and Commerce. Their Religion. The Druids. Their Government. Original of the Irish, Scots, and Picts.*



*Albion or Great-Britain, the largest and most considerable Island in Europe, if not in the whole World, is almost in the Shape of a Triangle; whose Sides, consider'd as right-lines, are fifteen Hundred, but, allowing for the Windings of the Coasts, about eighteen Hundred Miles in Compass. The shortest Side, from North-Foreland in Kent, to the Land's-End in Cornwall, is 300; The Western Side, from the Land's-End to the most Northern Point in Scotland, 800; And the Eastern Side, 700, Miles in Length.*

*The Extent of Great-Britain.*

The Names of *Albion* and *Britain* are of so very *Original of* *antient* a Date that the Reason of them can only be *its Names.* guess'd at. Some imagine, but upon no grounds at all, that the first of These was given by a certain Giant, Son to *Neptune*. Others will have it come from the *Greek* word *Alphon*, or, *White*; because the Coasts at a Distance look of that Colour. Some again conjecture



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jecture it is derived from the *Celtic* word *Al*, or, *High*, the Land appearing so as you approach it from the *Continent*.

As for the Name of *Britain*, some fancy this *Isle* was so call'd from *Brutus*, a *Trojan* Prince; but that whole Story is a mere Invention. *Somner* derives it from the *British* word, *Brydio*, or *Rage*, on account of the violent Motion and *Raging* of the Sea on the Coasts of *Great-Britain*. But this notion is not built upon Fact, for the Sea rages not here more than in other Places. *Cambden* and *Temple*, whose Opinion is the most generally embrac'd, form the Word *Britain* from *Brith*, which in the *British* Language signifies *Woad*, a Plant the *Britons* were wont to die their Skins withal. But This, as well as *Somner's* Notion, is liable to this grand Objection, How was it possible for *Foreigners*, who were ignorant of the Language, to give a *British* name to this Island? For that *Britain* was first called so by *Foreigners* is evident from the Natives never stiling their Country, *Britain*, or themselves *Britons*, but *Cumri* or *Cumbri*; from whence *Cambria*, the name of *Wales* to this day. *Bochartus*, whose Conjectures are the most probable, thinks, the *Phœnicians*, Trading hither for Tin, gave the Island the name of *Baratanak*, that is in their Language, the Land of Tin, which the *Greeks* and *Romans* afterwards chang'd into *Britannia*. This Notion is confirm'd by the *Grecians*, calling the Islands of *Scilly*, *Cassiterides*, which signifies in *Greek* the same as *Baratanak* in *Phœnician*. But when all is said, this is nothing but downright guess-work. It is well known how great a share *Caprice* and some little *Accidents* had in giving Names to the several Parts of the *New World* when first discovered. So that perhaps the Conjectures of *Cambden* and *Bochartus* are as little to the purpose with regard to *Great Britain*, as ours wou'd be, were we ignorant of the Occasion of the names of the Countries of *America*, shou'd we endeavour to trace them from the Language, Customs, or Commerce, of the Natives.

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We are as much in the Dark concerning the Original of the *first* Inhabitants of *Albion*, because in all likelihood, it was peopled by Colonies from different Places, and at different Times. However, endeavours have not been wanting to give us some light in this matter from their Customs, Manners, Religion and Form of Government. But before I proceed to the Consideration of these Particulars, it will be necessary just to touch upon the *Fabulous* Original of the *Britons* publish'd in the *XIIth Century* by *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, a *Benedictin*, in his *Latin History of Britain*, dedicated to *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, natural Son to *Henry I.* This I chuse to do, as thinking it the Part of an *Historian* not only to relate matters of Fact, but also to guard his Readers against those Fictions that are obtruded upon the World as Truths. The Substance of what he says is as follows.

*Brutus*, Grandson to *Eneas*, having had the Misfortune to kill his Father *Silvius* as he was shooting at a wild Beast, cou'd not or wou'd not stay any longer in *Italy*. He retir'd into *Greece*, from whence with the Descendants of the *Trojans*, who had resorted thither after the Destruction of their City, he put to Sea, and at length, after many Adventures, landed in *England* at *Toines* in *Devonshire*. The Island was then inhabited by *Giants*, under the Government of *Gog-Magog*. *Brutus* and his Companions, tho' but few in number, not only kept their footing, but quite root-ed out the native *Giants*, and got possession of the whole Island, which from *Brutus* had afterwards the name of *Britain*. *Brutus*, before he died, made a Division of his Dominions among his three Sons. *Locrin* or *Loegrin* had for his share *Loegria*, so called from his own name; the same with *England* now. *Camber* had *Wales*, thenceforward nam'd *Cambria*. To *Albanact's* Lot fell *Scotland*, from him term'd *Albania* (a).

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(a) *Loegria* is quite lost; and the *Cambria* in *Wales*, and *Albania* in *Scotland* are still in being, yet are they no proofs of this Fiction of *Geoffrey's*.

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Upon this *Chimerical* Foundation, the Author goes on to raise his Superstructure, giving an Account of the various Revolutions, that happen'd in the Reigns of the Kings, Successors to *Brutus*. But in such a manner as carries along with it evident Marks of the whole being a pure Invention of his own.

After rejecting this *Fictitious* Account of the Origin of the *Britons*, I wish it were in my Power to substitute something to be depended upon for certain in its Room, but there is no such Thing. We must be contented to take up with the probable Conjectures of *Cesar*, *Tacitus* and some other more *Modern* Authors upon this Head.

That *Great-Britain* was peopled by the *Celta* or *Gauls* the Descendants of *Gomer* the Son of *Japhet*, is what is agreed upon, on all Hands. Of This several Reasons, particularly the name of *Cumri*, by which the *Welch* call themselves at this Day, will not suffer us to doubt. *Great-Britain* no question had its Share of those numerous Swarms of *Gauls* that over-run so great a Part of *Europe* and *Asia*.

The near Affinity, taken notice of by Historians, between the Religion and Customs of the *Gauls* and *Britons*, is a further Confirmation of this matter. It is true indeed, the *Belge* are said by some Writers to settle in the *Eastern*; the *Spaniards*, in the *Western*; and the *Hibernians* or *Irish* in the *Northern* Parts of *Britain*. But this contradicts not the common Opinion. The *Belge* were no other than *Gauls*, and the *Spaniards* as well as the *Irish* or *Scots* were Colonies of the *Celtiberians*, that inhabited along the *Western* Coast of *Spain*. But tho' it were not certain that these *Spaniards* were *Celtiberians*, however it must be own'd that *England* or the *Southern* Part of *Great-Britain* was undoubtedly peopled by the *Celta* or *Gauls*.

Customs  
and Man-  
ners of the  
*Britons*.

The *Britons* were generally Tall and Well-made and as the *Irish*, for the most part, are at this day Red-hair'd. Their natural Constitution was so good that, according to *Plutarch*, they frequently liv'd to



an Hundred or Six-score Years. To This no doubt their sober and regular Lives contributed as much or more than the Temperateness of the Air. They All went naked except the Inhabitants along the *Southern* Coast, who cover'd their nakedness with the Skins of wild Beasts thrown over them any how, not so much to defend themselves from the Cold, as to avoid giving Offence to *Strangers*, that came to traffick with them. They were wont by way of Ornament to make Incisions in their Bodies in the Shape of Flowers, Trees and Animals, which they died blue with the Juice of *Wood*.

They lived in Woods in Huts cover'd over with Skins, Boughs or Turf. There are People now in the *North* of *Scotland* that are said to have none but such Houses. I remember, when I was in *Ireland*, I saw there poor People living in little Hutts cover'd only with green Turf, where I was told they pass'd their time quietly, never caring to stir abroad but upon their necessary Occasions, to provide themselves with Milk and Potatoes, which they very contentedly fed upon, without giving themselves any further trouble. This may serve to give us a Notion of the way of Living among the antient *Britons* as well as several other Nations. Their ordinary Food was Milk, and the Flesh they got by Hunting. As for domestick Fowls, such as Hens and Geese, if they bred any, it was only for their Pleasure, being strictly forbid by their Religion to eat any thing of that Nature, as *Cesar* expressly observes (a). Neither did they eat any Fish, tho' the Rivers and the Sea that surrounded them, were plentifully stockt with them. Their Towns or rather Villages were a confus'd parcel of Hutts plac'd at a little Distance from one another, without any Order or Regularity, and generally in the middle of a Wood, the Avenues whereof were defended with slight Ramparts of Earth or Trees fell'd and laid a-cross one another. This plain and simple manner of Life, so different from the Luxury of other Nations, did not pre-

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(a) *Cas. Com. l. v.*



vent them from being as quick of Apprehension as their Neighbours the *Gauls*, and of greater Penetration, if we may believe *Tacitus*: And for their *Morals* *Diodorus Siculus* does not scruple to say they even out-did the *Romans* themselves. One Custom however there was among them, which seem'd detestable in the Eyes of other People, tho' for their part they lookt upon it as very innocent, which was for ten or a dozen Brothers or Friends to live all together, and have their Wives in Common. This Practise continued a long time among them, tho' in other respects they were grown civilis'd enough by conversing with the *Romans*, after they became Masters of the Island. A *British* Lady, being upbraided by *Julia*, the Empress of *Severus*, upon account of this barbarous Custom, gave her this smart Answer: *The Roman Ladies have little reason to reproach us upon this score, since what we do publickly with the best of Our Men, They do in private with the worst of Theirs, Freed-men and Slaves.* There is no doubt but that the *Britons* differ'd from the more civilis'd Nations in several other Customs, but the little Correspondence *Foreigners* held with them, affords us the Knowledge but of very few Particulars of what pass'd among them before the Arrival of the *Romans*.

Their way  
of Fighting.

*Cæsar* (a) gives a great Character of the Bravery and Valour of the *Britons*, and of their going to Battle fearless and undaunted. But his Description of their way of Fighting is somewhat strange. He says, They fought for the most part in Chariots, which they furiously drove among their Enemies, throwing their Darts; but when they had to do with the *Horse*, they leapt out of their Chariots, Sword in hand, to fight with the better Advantage. Now for my part I can't understand how it was possible for them to engage the *Horse* more advantagiously *on Foot* than in their Chariots.

Trade.

As well situated for Trade as the *Britons* were, they neither had any large Ships, nor even ventur'd to Sea further than the Coast of *Gaul*. Their greatest Dealings

(a) *Cæs. Comm. l. iv.*

ings were with the *Phœnicians*, who exported yearly great quantities of Tin, wherewith they alone carried on a very gainful Trade with distant Nations, till the *Greeks*, notwithstanding all Care was taken to conceal it from Them, found their way hither also.

This Trade being carried on in the furthest Parts of *Cornwal* only, Foreigners had no great opportunities of knowing exactly the state of the Island. And this is the reason we have so little handed down to us concerning the Government and Religion of the anti-ent *Britons*. However thus much is known, that They had in a manner the same Gods with the *Gauls*; for instance, *Dis* and *Samoths* were Deities equally worshipped by both Nations. But the *Britons* paid a particular Veneration to *Andate*, the Goddess of Victory, in honour of whom they sacrific'd their Prisoners of War.

We know moreover the *Druids*, as well among the *Druids*, *Britons* as *Gauls*, had the Care and Direction of all Religious matters. Their name is deriv'd from the *Celtic* word, *Deru* or *Oak*, the same as *Drus* in Greek (a). For the *Mistletoe*, that grows on the Oak, they look'd upon as a most Sacred Thing, and the greatest Blessing bestow'd on them by the Gods. The *Druids* were held in so great Veneration by the People, that their Power over them was almost absolute. No Publick matters were transacted without their Approbation. A Malefactor cou'd not be put to Death without their consent. They made Religion a handle to procure to themselves the management of *Private* as well as *Publick* Affairs. They assum'd to themselves a Power to exclude all from their Sacrifices, that refus'd to submit to their Determinations. This kept the People in great Awe and Dread of them; for a Man by being thus excluded or excommunicated, was not only shunn'd by all as an irreligious and profane Wretch, but deprived of the benefit of the Law, and render'd incapable of any

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(a) *Pezron* will have both *Greek* and *Latin* to come from *Celtic*; if so, the *Greek Drus* comes from the *Celtic, Deru*.



any Place of Trust or Honour. The *Christian* Clergy in this Practice have but too closely follow'd the steps of the *Druids*. The Chief of the *Druids* was a sort of *Pontiff* or *High-Priest*, to whom all the rest were to pay Obedience; This Dignity was Elective; and sometimes when the Competitors were of equal Merit, such Heats and Broils have raged among them, that they have fallen to Blows before the Election was over.

The *Bards*, among the *Britons*, were of an inferior Order to the *Druids*. Their Business was to celebrate the Praises of their Heroes, in Verses and Songs which they sung to their Harps. They continued in being a long time; there were some even after the *Romans* had entirely quitted the Island.

Religion.

The *Eubates*, both in *Britain* and *Gaul*, were a third sort of Priests, that gave themselves up to the Study of Natural Philosophy, as *Marcellinus* informs us. In fine, as the Religion of the *Britons* and *Gauls* were the same, it is very probable one of these Nations had it from the other. *Cesar* was of Opinion that the *Gauls* had it from *Britain*, because they were wont to come hither in order to have thorough Knowledge of all its Mysteries; but perhaps this was only during the Wars in their own Country with the *Romans*. *Bochartus*, not so positive as *Cesar*, says, it can't be known for certain which of the two Nations had their Religion from the Other. However, it is very likely that the *Gauls*, when they peopled *Britain*, planted their own Religion there. But be this as it will, since the *British* and *Gaulish* *Druids* had the same Notions, and since we know but very little of the first of these, we must apply to the last in order to form some *Idea* of their Religion, which after all will be but a very imperfect one, by reason of the *Druids* leaving nothing behind them in Writing, it being their Custom to make their Disciples learn every thing by Heart. *Gollut* has taken the pains to make a Collection of some of the *Druidic*



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*Druidical Maxims or Rules ; the most remarkable are these.*

*None must be instructed but in the Sacred Groves.*

*Misseltoe must be gather'd with reverence, and if possible in the Sixth Moon. It must be cut with a Golden Bill.*

*Every Thing derives its Origin from Heaven.*

*The Arcana of the Sciences must not be committed to Writing but to the Memory.*

*Great Care is to be taken of the Education of Children.*

*The Powder of Misseltoe makes Women fruitful.*

*The Disobedient are to be shut out from the Sacrifices.*

*Souls are immortal.*

*The Soul after Death goes into other Bodies.*

*If the World is destroy'd, it will be by Fire or Water.*

*Upon extraordinary Emergencies, a Man must be Sacrificed. According as the Body falls, or moves after it is fallen ; according as the Blood flows, or the Wound opens, future Events are foretold.*

*Prisoners of War are to be slain upon the Altars, or burnt alive inclos'd in Wicker, in honour of the Gods.*

*All Commerce with Strangers must be prohibited.*

*He that comes last to the Assembly of the States, ought to be punished with Death.*

*Children are to be brought up apart from their Parents, till they are fourteen Years of Age.*

*Money lent in this World will be repaid in the next.*

*There is another World, and They, who kill themselves to accompany their Friends thither, will live with them there.*

*Letters given to dying Persons, or thrown on the funeral Piles of the Dead, will faithfully be deliver'd in the other World.*

*The Moon is a Sovereign Remedy for All things, as its name in Celtic implies.*

*Let the Disobedient be excommunicated : let him be depriv'd of the benefit of the Law, let him be avoided by All, and render'd incapable of any Employ.*

Al

## The INTRODUCTION.

*All Masters of Families are Kings in their own Houses, they have a Power of Life and Death over their Wives, Children and Slaves.*

These Particulars may serve to give us some Notion of the Religion of the *Druids*, which for a long time kept its footing in *Great-Britain* as well as in *Gaul*. It spread itself as far as *Italy*, as appears from *Augustus* prohibiting the *Romans* from celebrating its Mysteries. There were Women as well as Men *Druids*. It was a Woman *Druid*, that as *Vopiscus* relates the Story, foretold to *Dioclesian*, when a private Soldier in *Gallia*, that he wou'd be Emperor of *Rome*.

Government.

As for the Religion, so for the Government, of the *Britons*, recourse must be had to the *Gauls*. From the time of the Founding of *Rome*, the *Gauls* were divided into several petty States, with a *Head* or *King* over each of them. Some of these were more powerful than the Rest, out of whom was chosen by common Consent One, who, for the Time being, was to have the Command of the Armies in general, and the Power of putting the Laws in Execution, committed to him. *Livy*, according to the Custom of the *Romans* styles this Magistrate, *King*, a Title, that a Modern Author (a) thinks was not at all suitable to the Nature of this High Dignity, and therefore calls him only *Paramount*, or, *above all the Rest*. However this be, the *Britons* may be presum'd to have had the same Form of Government, since the Country lying between the *Tine* and the *British Channel* was divided into no less than seventeen petty States or Kingdoms (b). *Cassibelanus* Prince or Head of the *Trinobantes* upon *Caesar's* Invasion, and *Caractacus* Head of the *Silures*, in the time of *Claudius*, were chosen Commanders in chief of the Armies. These several independent States were doubtless at continual Variance with one another upon some account or other. But we are entirely ignorant of their Affairs, till the *Roman* Invasion, from which Period we may date

(a) *S. Julian. Orig. des Bourg.*

(b) *Pompon. Mela. l. 3.*



date the Beginning of their History. But before I enter upon this Subject, it will be proper to give some Account of the Origin of the *Picts* and *Scots*, Inhabitants of *North-Britain*.

If the *Britons* fabulouſly claim *Brutus* Grand-ſon to *Eneas* for their Founder, the *Scots*, reſolving not to be out-done in Point of Antiquity, derive their Origin from *Gathelus* the Son of *Cecrops* King of *Athens*, or, according to others, of *Argus* the fourth King of the *Argives*, and *Scota* Daughter to *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*. Origin of the Scots.

*Gathelus* being oblig'd to quit his native Country, came, after ſome time, into *Egypt*, where he ſerv'd under *Moses*, in *Pharaoh's* Wars with the *Ethiopians*. He ſignaliz'd himſelf by ſo many brave Actions, that *Pharaoh*, upon *Moses* leaving the Kingdom, gave him the Command of the Army with his Daughter *Scota* in Marriage. Terrified at the Prediction of an Oracle of the Downfal of *Egypt*, he put to Sea, about 39 years after, in Company with a great many *Greeks* and *Egyptians* that choſe to follow his Fortunes. After ſeveral vain Efforts to ſettle in *Africa*, he at length lands on the *Western* Coaſt of *Spain*, and gives the Place the name of *Portus Gatheli*, from whence came *Portugal*. [Here the Author of this Fable forgot that *Gathelus* was *Greek* and not *Latin*.] *Gathelus* leaving a Colony here, ſteer'd his Courſe farther *North*, and took poſſeſſion of a Country which he call'd from his own name, *Gathelicia* or *Gallicia*. From whence, ſome time after, his Son *Hiberus* embarking with ſome of his Father's Followers, ſail'd to an Iſland, which he call'd *Hibernia*, afterwards, *Ireland*. The Natives, few in Number, receiv'd theſe Strangers with open Arms, and mixing with them, ſoon became one Nation under the general Name of *Scots*, from *Scota* the Mother of *Hiberus*. This may be call'd the fabulous Origin of the *Scots*, which *Buchanan* has inſerted in his *History of Scotland*, to let his Country-men ſee the Abſurdity of it. The moſt probable Account of this Matter is as follows.

The



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The *Isle of Iren*, called by the *English* and *Scotch*, *Iren-lands*, or *Ireland*, had a long time been in the possession of the *European Scyths* or *Scots*, when a Company of *Spaniards* (suppos'd by *Buchanan* to be the Descendants of the *Celtiberian Gauls*, that came and settled in *Spain*) landed there. This was about the time the *Carthaginians* became Masters of *Spain*. As their Number was very inconsiderable, the Natives willingly receiv'd them, and allotted them Lands to cultivate. This good Reception soon drew others thither, insomuch that at length the two Nations blended together under the common Name of *Scyths* or *Scots*, became so exceeding populous, that abundance of Families were forc'd to throw themselves into the *Ebudes* or *Hebrides* Islands situated North of *Ireland*, which were soon likewise overstockt. The *Scyths* are said to come to *Ireland* a little after the Flood, and the *Spaniards* in the year of the World, 3380.

Picts.

The *Scyths* having thus taken Possession of the *Hebrides*, the *Picts*, People from that Part of *Germany* now called *Mecklenburgh* and *Pomerania*, putting to Sea, like other *Northern Nations*, in quest of new Habitations, came and offer'd to land in these Islands; but being told the Soil was too barren to maintain any more Inhabitants, and inform'd that a large Island nam'd *Albion* lay not far distant, where they wou'd infallibly find room enough, they directly sail'd thither, and settled themselves in the *North-Parts*, that were but thinly inhabited, without any Opposition.

The *Scots*, who had long waited for an opportunity were soon after them, in hopes of mending their Quarters. The *Picts* were not displeas'd to see them come over in such Numbers, not only as they stood in need of their Assistance against the Natives, but also so as they wanted a Supply of Women, without which their Colony wou'd soon come to an End. Accordingly Wives they had, upon condition that the Heirs of the Women shou'd have the Preference before those of the Men in the Suecession to the King.

dom they were about to establish. This Law was still in Force in *Bede's* Time. The two Nations thus united in one common Interest, clear'd by degrees all the Country lying *North* of the *Tyne*, of its antient Inhabitants. After this, they agreed to separate, the *Scots* chusing the *western*, as nearest to *Ireland*, and the *Picts*, the *Eastern*, Parts, as opposite to *Germany*. Soon after this Separation, the *Scots* in *Albion* were called *Albins*, and Those in *Ireland*, *Irens* or *Irish*. Hence the Distinction of *Great Scotland* or *Ireland*, and *Little Scotland* or *North-Britain*. The *Albins* by their continual Supplies from their Brethren the *Irish*, grew at length too powerful for the *Picts*, and in process of time quite rooted them out. But this was not done till many Ages after their Separation.

It is a difficult thing for two bordering Nations to be Friends long. The *Picts* and *Scots* soon found some Occasion or other to fall at variance. The *Britons*, for so I shall call the ancient Inhabitants for the future, tho' it is not known when that Name was first given them, did all they cou'd underhand to bring their Quarrel to an open Rupture; hoping by that means so to weaken both Parties, as to be able to rid themselves of these troublesome Guests, whom they were heartily sorry they had suffer'd to settle so peaceably in their Country. As they had most to fear from the growing Power of the *Albins*, They sided with the *Picts*. Upon This, the *Albins* apply to *Ferchard* King of *Ireland* for Assistance, who immediately sent over his Son *Fergus*. This Prince finding the *Albins* had hitherto liv'd in a Sort of Anarchy without a Chief or Head, but what they chose upon extraordinary Occasions, convinc'd them of the inconveniencies of such a State, and so got himself invested with the Supream Authority. *Fergus* then was the first King of *Scotland* properly so called; for *Great Scotland* or *Ireland*, had had Kings for several Ages before, and, if you will believe them, was the most ancient Monarchy in the World. *Fergus* is said to arrive in *Scotland* in the Year of the



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World 3627, about the time *Alexander the Great* made his Entrance into *Babylon*. But this Pretension of Theirs to so great Antiquity admits of no small Dispute, and therefore not too easily to be credited.

*Fergus*, as soon as he was seated in his Throne, made great Preparations for the War against the *Picts*, at the same time leaving no Stone unturn'd to bring Matters to an Accommodation. He represented to Them by his Ambassadors, that the Quarrel between the two Nations, being only about Trifles, might easily be made up, wou'd both Sides but agree to hearken to Reason: That it was much to be fear'd, the *Britons*, their common Enemies, wou'd take the Advantage of their Divisions, and ruin them both, which they might plainly see was what they were driving at. This had the desir'd Effect on the *Picts*, they dropt on a sudden their first Design, and immediately join'd with the *Scots* against the *Britons*. *Fergus* thus reinforc'd gave the *Britons* Battle, in which their King *Coilus* was slain. Upon which the *Britons* sued for Peace. *Fergus*, some time after, was shipwrecked on the Coast of *Ireland*, as he was returning thither; In the very place where *Carrick-Fergus* now stands.

This is the Account the *Scotch* Historians give us of the Settlement of these two Nations in *North-Britain*. From the Arrival of *Fergus* to the *Roman* Invasion, they tell us, Things remain'd much in the same State. The Country lying between the *Channel* and the River *Tyne*, was inhabited by *Britons*, and divided into 17 petty Kingdoms. From the *Tyne* to the utmost Bounds of the *North*, the *Eastern* Part of the Country was possess'd by the *Picts*, and the *Western* by the *Scots*. These last reckon fifteen Kings from *Fergus* to *Ede-rus*, in whose reign *Cesar* invaded *Britain*.

Dispute  
concerning  
the Anti-  
quity of the  
Scots.

Tho' one would think the *Scotch* shou'd best know the Origin of their own Monarchy, yet this Antiquity of Theirs is greatly contested by several very famous *English* Writers. As Religion was concern'd in the Case, the Dispute was carried on with great Warmth.



Warmth. The *Presbyterians*, among other Objections against *Episcopacy*, alledged, that the Church of *Scotland* was govern'd by *Presbyters* only, called *Culdees*, before ever there were any *Bishops* in the Country; - whence they wou'd infer that *Episcopacy* was not of *Divine* Institution. The *English* Bishops answered this Objection by denying the Fact, and asserting, that the *Scotch* Church was so far from being govern'd by *Presbyters*, that it was not *then* in Being, the *Scots* not setting foot in the Island till the Year of our Lord 503. According to this, 800 Years must be cut off from the *Scotch* Account, which is so considerable a Sum, that one can hardly think they cou'd be so much out in their Reckoning. Is it possible that the 40 Kings, they give out reigned from *Fergus I.* to *Coran*, who sat on the Throne in the Year of Christ 501, are All imaginary Ones? On the other hand, it can't well be suppos'd that their Learned Adversaries wou'd lay so great an Error to their Charge, did they not believe they had good Proofs for what they say. It is not to be expected I should give the Particulars of a Dispute that is the Subject of several Volumes. All I shall do, is to lay down in two Words, what foot the Question was put upon.

Had the *Scotch* been oblig'd to prove directly their Settlement in *North-Britain*, ever since the time of *Alexander the Great*, I am afraid their Arguments wou'd not have been altogether convincing to unprejudic'd Judges. But they had the Address to give the Dispute another Turn. When a Nation, say They, ascribes any Thing to it self, in relation to its own History, it ought not to be rejected, without plain Proofs to the Contrary. By this means, They put their Adversaries upon proving a *Negative*, which every one knows is no easy matter to do. However, this is what they have undertaken; and Their main Argument is, that no Writer ever mentions the *Scots* as Inhabitants of *Britain* till the *Sixth Century*.

They alledge several Passages from *Latin* Authors, wherein you have a Catalogue of the names of the Na-

## The INTRODUCTION.

tions that inhabited the *Northern* parts of the Island, without the least notice taken of the *Scots*. To this the *Scotch* answer; That their Nation not being conquered till the Reign of *Severus*, and remaining but a very little time in subjection to the *Romans*, it is no wonder they knew so little of it, and consequently, gave so imperfect an Account of it. They add moreover, that altho' we find in *Tacitus*, and other Historians, mention of the *Deucaledonians*, *Meatis*, *Attacotes*, as inhabiting the *North* Parts of *Britain*, it will no more follow from thence that these People were not *Picts* or *Scots*, than it will that the *Icenians*, *Trinobantes*, *Silures*, were not truly *Britons*, because distinguish'd by these particular names. Against the *Scots* in this dispute the most considerable are, *Usher*, *Lloyd*, *Stillingfleet*, Authors of great note. In their Defence, the Principal Writers are, *Hector Boethius*, *Buchanan*, *Makenzie*, all three very famous in *Scotland*.

The *Picts* are affirm'd, by the same English Authors, to be no other than *Britons*, who to avoid falling under the Dominion of the *Romans*, retir'd into the North; where continuing to paint their Bodies, the *Romans* gave them the name of *Picts*, to distinguish them from those that since their Submission to them had left that Custom off. But as the *Romans* did not subdue the Seventeen Nations of the *Britons* all at once, but one after another, how came it to pass that some of these Nations, before they were conquer'd, were not distinguish'd by the name of *Picts*, as well as they only that had fled beyond the *Tyne*? The *Scotch* say moreover, that this Argument of the *English* has more of *Show* than *Solidity* in it, since it is founded only upon the Conformity of the Name, *Picts*, with the *Latin* word, *Picti*: That it is true indeed several *Britons* took refuge among the Inhabitants of the *North*; but in order to prove that *These* were the same with them that were afterwards call'd *Picts*, it must be made appear, how *They* came to make a distinct Nation and live apart by themselves, as we are sure the *Picts* did for several Ages together,

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gether, with Laws and Customs different from those both of the *Britons* and *Scots*. But as nothing like this can be made out, it is more natural to think, that these *British Refugees* retiring amongst the *Picts* were incorporated with them. This opinion, to which I confess I am inclin'd, may be further confirm'd by considering that the *Scots*, who had but little intercourse with the *Romans*, called their Neighbours *Pebites*. Now if this name be the same with that of *Picts*, taken from the *Latin* word, *Picti*; how can any one imagine, that the *Scots* should give their Neighbours a *Roman* Name? But if it is a different Name, it must be granted, that the *Picts* were not *Britons*, nor so called from painting their Bodies. *Buchanan*, who takes the Name of the *Picts* to be *Roman*, owns however, he knows not what Name they gave themselves; and affirms they were derived from certain *Gaulish* Colonies that settled in *Thrace*, where they painted their Bodies as well as in *Britain*. He adds, the *Picts* spoke the same Language as the *Britons* and *Scots*, since we don't find these three Nations had ever any occasion for Interpreters. This reason does not seem to me at all conclusive, since it is very possible, They might speak different Tongues, and yet Historians take no notice of Interpreters. *Buchanan* however infers from hence that they were of *Celtic* Extraction. *Verstegan*, an English Historian, thinks the Name of the *Picts* was taken from a word in their own Language signifying, a *Warrior*. But enough of a Nation that has been entirely extinct without the least Remains near upon 900 Years.

THE





THE  
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

Julius Cæsar *invades* Britain *twice*. *Obliges* them to pay an yearly *Tribute*. *Remarks* on his *Account* of his two *Expeditions* hither. *The State* of Britain in the *Reigns* of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula. Claudius *invades* and *conquers* Britain. *An account* of the *Wars* between the Britons and Romans, and what happen'd before the *Arrival* of the Saxons. Their *Original*. The *Angles*, and *Jutes*. *The State* of the British Church from their *Conversion* to the *Coming* of the Saxons.



THE Romans were become Masters of almost all Europe, of the best Part of Africa, and of the richest Kingdoms of Asia, before they undertook the Conquest of Great-Britain. Their long Wars with the Gauls had hitherto afforded them no time nor leisure to think of the Britons. Julius Cæsar was the first that turn'd his Thoughts that Way. Not satisfied with the great Fame he had acquir'd

acquir'd by subduing the *Gauls*, the Desire of still greater Glory, and of enlarging the Bounds of the Common-wealth, inspired him with a Design to bring the *Britons* under the Dominion of the *Romans*. Some have accus'd him (a), but how truly is uncertain, of aiming in this Enterprize at nothing but his own private Interest, and the enriching himself with the Spoils of the Island. However this be, He invaded the *Britons* twice, on pretence they had assisted his Enemies, the common Excuse of the *Romans* on the like Occasions, and has given us himself, in his *Commentaries*, the following Account of his two Expeditions Hither.

*Cæsar* having spent the greatest part of the Summer against the *Germans*, was resolv'd to employ the Rest in his Design upon *Britain*. And tho' he was very sensible the Season was too far advanc'd to make any great Progress, yet he thought it would be worth his while, were it only to get some Knowledge of the Island, almost entirely unknown to all but the Merchants that traded thither; and who, after all, knew so little of the Matter that they cou'd not, upon Examination, give *Cæsar* any Information concerning the Extent, or Populousness of the Island, or whether the Harbours were fit to receive Ships of Burthen. In this uncertainty, he sent *Volusenus* to get what Intelligence he cou'd, whilst the Troops were marching to the Place from whence they were to embark.

*Cæsar invades Britain. ante Chr. 54.*

The *Britons* having receiv'd Intelligence from the Merchants of *Cæsar's* Design, endeavour'd to divert him from it, by sending Ambassadors with Offers of their Submission to the *Roman State*, and the Delivery of Hostages for their Security. He gave the Ambassadors a very civil Reception, and after he had exhorted them to continue stedfast in the Resolution they had taken, dismiss'd them with many fair Promises, without

(a) *Suet. in Jul. Cæs. c. 47.* Britanniam petisse spe Margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus.



out letting them know positively what he design'd to do. With them he sent *Comius*, whom he had just before made King of the *Atrebat*es (b). He gave him Instructions to excite the *Britons* to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, and to let them know he intended to come over into their Island. They were not at all pleas'd with this News, having been in hopes that the Steps they had taken wou'd have made him alter his Mind; and so, whether *Comius* spoke to them in too haughty a Manner, or whether they had a Mind to let the *Romans* see they did not fear them in the least, they clapt up the Ambassador in Prison, and load-ed him with Irons.

In the mean time *Volusenus* return'd, and gave an Account of what discoveries he had made. Upon which, all things being ready, *Cesar* put two *Legions* on board fourscore Ships, leaving Orders for his *Horse* to follow in eighteen more with all speed; but these Orders were but slowly executed. When he came upon the Coast of *Britain*, he saw the Hills and Cliffs that ran out into the Sea cover'd over with *Britons*, that cou'd easily with their Darts prevent his Landing. This determin'd him to look out for some other place where he might land with less Danger. However he lay by till four a-clock in the Afternoon, expecting some Ships that were not yet come up. As soon as the Fleet was join'd, he made a Signal for his Principal Officers, and having given them all necessary Orders about their Landing, he set sail and came to an Anchor about two leagues farther, where the Country was open and level. The *Britons* perceiving his Intent, sent their Chariots and Horsemen before, which were follow'd by all the *Foot*. The worst of it was, the Ships were too large to come near enough the Shoar; so that the *Romans* saw there was a necessity of throwing themselves, arm'd as they were, into the Sea, in order to attack the Enemy, who stood ready to receive them on dry Ground. *Cesar* finding his Soldiers did

not

(b) Arras.

not show their usual Ardor upon this Occasion, order'd some Gallies to get as near the Shore as possible, and to annoy the Enemy in the *Flank* with a Shower of Stones and Darts from the Engines and Slings. This had the desir'd Effect, for the *Britons* were by this Means put into some Disorder. However the *Romans* still demurr'd upon throwing themselves into the Sea, and perhaps wou'd have hardly been brought to it at last, had not an Ensign of the tenth *Legion* shown them the Way, by leaping in first with his Colours in his Hand, crying out to them aloud, *Follow me, Fellow-Soldiers, unless you have a mind to betray the Roman Eagle into the hands of the Enemy. I, for my part, will discharge my Duty to the Commonwealth and my General.* Fir'd at this, the Soldiers forgot their Danger, and leaping into the Sea with undaunted Courage, began the Fight. But for all they cou'd do, the *Britons* kept their Ground, and it was greatly to be fear'd, the *Romans* fighting thus in the Water, without being able to keep their Ranks, wou'd have been repuls'd, had not *Cesar* by the means of some armed *Sloops* made the Enemy to fall back a little. The *Romans* upon this advanc'd with all possible Expedition, and being got on dry land they press'd the *Britons* so vigorously that at length they put them to flight. However they durst not pursue them, having no *Horse*, which, as *Cesar* says, was the only thing that hinder'd him from having a compleat Victory.

The *Britons* terrified at the valour of the *Romans*, and fearing a longer Resistance wou'd but expose them to greater Misfortunes, set *Comius* at liberty, and sent him back to *Cesar*, throwing the blame of his ill Treatment, upon the violence and fury of the *Populace*. At the same time Ambassadors were dispatch'd to sue for Peace, which *Cesar* granted them upon their delivering some Hostages and Promise of sending more.

The Peace being thus concluded four Days after their Landing, the *British* Troops were dismiss'd, and



some of their Princes came and submitted themselves to *Cæsar*. Whilst these things were in agitation, the Ships that were transporting the *Roman Cavalry* met with a great Storm, which forc'd them back again into the Ports of *Gaul*; and, what was worse, the same Storm fell foul of his Fleet that lay in the Road, whereof some were dash'd in pieces, and others lost their Anchors, Sails and Rigging. At the same time the Tide of Flood, the Moon being at full, rise so high, that the Gallies they had drawn ashore were fill'd with Water. These Accidents threw the *Romans* into a terrible Consternation, they having not brought with them wherewithal to repair their Vessels, or any Quantity of Provisions, *Cæsar* having design'd to winter in *Gaul*.

The *Britons* that were with *Cæsar* soon perceiv'd he was in want of *Provisions, Ships, and Cavalry*. Besides they easily guess'd by the little compass of Ground their Camp took up, that the Number of the *Romans* was inconsiderable. Upon making these Observations they withdrew and went and represented to their Country-men what a favourable Opportunity was put into their hands of ridding themselves of the *Romans*. The *Britons* immediately enter'd into a Resolution to use all possible means to cut them off from all Provisions, and to amuse them till Winter should come on. *Cæsar* guessing their Design by what happen'd to him, took all imaginable Care to lay in what Provisions he was able. And having sent from *Gaul* for what was necessary to refit his Ships, he made use of the Timber and Iron of the broken ones to repair the Rest. The Soldiers, as they knew they were working for their lives, in a few days put the Fleet in a Condition to sail, there having been only twelve Ships cast away.

In the *interim*, the seventh Legion being sent out for *Forage*, News was brought to *Cæsar*, that a Cloud of Dust was seen to rise from that quarter. He immediately marches away with the two Companies that

guard  
the B

guarded the Camp, ordering the rest to follow with all expedition. The Harvest it seems being in every where else, the *Britons* did not question but that the *Romans* wou'd come to that place to forage, so lay in a readiness to fall upon them as they shou'd be dispers'd up and down the field to gather the Corn. Accordingly they had kill'd some, and were surrounding the Rest with their Chariots, when *Cæsar* came just in the critical Moment to save them from being all slain or taken. After having brought them off, he retir'd to the Camp, not judging it proper to come to a Battle unless forc'd to it.

The *Britons*, flush'd with their Success, gather'd together a greater number of *Horse* and *Foot*, and resolv'd to attack the *Romans* in their Camp. But *Cæsar* foreseeing this, gave them so warm a Reception that they were soon put to flight, the *Romans* pursuing them as long as their *Breath* and *Strength* would permit. This Loss so sunk the Courage of the *Britons*, that they sent that very day Ambassadors to *Cæsar* to treat of Peace, which was concluded upon their promising to send after him into *Gaul* double the Number of Hostages, he had demanded of them before. Tho' the Passage over to the Continent was not long, yet it being so late in the year, the fear of exposing his shatter'd Fleet to another Storm, made him hurry away as fast as he cou'd. The *Britons* not being so good as their word, he resolv'd to give them a second Visit in the following Spring in a more formidable manner.

*Cæsar* having left orders with his Officers to repair *Cæsar's second Invasion* his Old, and build some more new Ships, went and pass'd part of the Winter in *Italy* as he was wont to do. At his Return he found in the Port of *Iccius* Near Calais, thirty-score Vessels and eighteen Gallies, on board of which he put five Legions and two thousand *Horse*, and sailing for *Britain*, he landed at a place, he had mark'd the Summer before, without any Opposition. The *Britons*, as he was told afterwards, terrified at



*The Storm  
in Kent.*

the sight of so vast a Fleet, thought fit to retire further up in the Country behind some Hills. After *Cæsar* had fortified the Camp, according to the Custom of the *Romans*, he set out in the night in quest of the Enemy. He had not march'd above twelve Miles before he saw them posted on the other side of a River in order to dispute his Passage. As resolute as they seem'd at first, they cou'd not withstand the Brunt of the *Roman Cavalry*, but were forc'd to abandon their Post. They retir'd into a Wood, the Avenues whereof were blockt up with huge Trees laid athwart one another. The seventh Legion, tho' it appear'd a difficult matter, attack'd them thus entrench'd and put them to flight. But night coming on, *Cæsar* gave orders not to pursue them. On the morrow, as he was marching in pursuit of the *Britons*, news was brought him, that his Fleet was almost entirely destroy'd by a terrible Storm. Upon this he hastens back to the Camp, and found forty of his Ships broken in pieces, and the rest very much damag'd. He immediately sets all the Carpenters, that were in the Fleet and Army, at work, sending for others at the same time from *Gaul*. To prevent the like Accident for the future, he made his Soldiers with infinite toil and labour draw up the Ships, as soon as they were refitted, within the Camp. In the mean time he writ to *Labienus*, his Lieutenant in *Gaul*, to build new ones, and send them over as soon as they were finish'd. Then leaving a sufficient Force to guard the Camp, he proceeded in his search after the *Britons*.

*In Essex.*

He had not marched far, before he was inform'd that the Enemy's Forces were very much augmented under the Conduct of *Cassibelan* King of the *Trimbantes*, whose Kingdom was situated beyond the *Thames* about 20 Miles from the Sea. This Prince till then had had continual Wars with his Neighbours, but upon the approach of the *Romans* a Peace was made with all of them, and the Command of the Confederate Army was by consent confer'd upon Him.

Him. The *Romans* in their March were on a sudden attack'd by the *British Cavalry* and Chariots ; but they were repuls'd with great Loss. However some days after, whilst the *Romans* were busied about their Intrenchments, some Troops that lay conceal'd in the Woods fell with great Fury upon those that guarded the Camp, and put them in very great Disorder. *Cesar* seeing this, immediately sent two *Companies* to their Assistance, who at the first Onset were put to the rout. In this Encounter the Tribune *Quintius Laberius Durrus* was slain. As this Battle was fought in sight of the Camp, *Cesar* saw plainly the great Disadvantage the *Romans*, encumber'd with their *Heavy Armor*, lay under against an Enemy that was *nimble* and *light-arm'd*, and fought always in small *Parties*, with a *Body of Reserve* in their *Rear*, from whence they receiv'd continual Recruits. The *Roman Cavalry*, was no less embarrass'd than the *Infantry*. As the *Britons* frequently pretended to run away, the Horsemen that were detach'd out to pursue them were immediately cut off, so that they found it equally dangerous to pursue or to retreat. The confus'd manner of *Cesar's* relating this Action is a clear evidence the *Romans* were worsted, tho' he does not say it in so many words. Besides, the Reasons he gives of their not succeeding any better are very *weak*, or if they are of any weight, whence comes it, that he had not the same Difficulties to get over in so many other Encounters, wherein he affirms the *Britons* were routed *Horse* and *Foot* ?

The next day, *Cesar* having sent out all the *Horse* to forage with three *Legions* to guard them, the *Britons* fell with great Fury upon the Forragers, who were defended by the *Legions* till such time as *Cesar* advanc'd with the rest of the Army ; upon which a great Battle ensued, wherein the *Britons* were entirely defeated.

After this Victory, *Cesar* marched towards the *Thames* with a design to enter into the Dominions of *Cassibelan*. When he came to the place, he was to ford  
over



over at, he perceiv'd the Enemy drawn up in great numbers on the other side. Notwithstanding this, and the Bank and River being drove full of sharp Stakes, he order'd the *Horse* to ride in, and the *Foot* to follow; which they did, wading up to their very Chins. The Attack was made with that Resolution that the *Britons* were forc'd to retire and leave the *Romans* a free Passage. *Cassibelan* upon this disbanded his Army, reserving only 4000 Men, with whom he harra's'd the *Romans*, and cut them short of Provisions, by carrying off all the Corn and Cattle, that were in those Parts thro' which they were to march. This reduc'd them to great straits, for they did not dare to make the least Excursions in search of Provisions for fear of Sallies from the Woods and *By-Places*.

In the *Interim*, the *Trinobantes* perceiving *Cesar* was near their Borders, sent Deputies to him to treat of Peace; desiring him at the same time to take into his Protection *Mandrubatus* their King, who had fled into *Gaul* upon *Cassibelan's* killing his Father *Imanuen-tius*, and depriving him of his Dominions. *Cesar* promis'd to send back *Mandrubatus*, on condition they wou'd victual his Army and deliver forty Hostages; to which they agreed. Several other States following the Example of the *Trinobantes*, *Cesar* found himself in a condition to attack the Capital City of *Cassibelan*, whither all the Country People were retired with their Flocks and Herds. What the *Britons* call'd a City, was only a Wood fenc'd with a Ditch to defend them against the Incursions of their Enemies. This Intrenchment, tho' very strong, the *Romans* storm'd so briskly at two different Places at once, that the *Britons* fled out at one of their Avenues, but not without having a great many slain and taken, and leaving behind them abundance of Cattle.

Whilst this was doing, four *Kentish* Princes, *Cingetorix*, *Carnilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, by the Instigation of *Cassibelan*, fell upon the *Roman* Camp that was left to guard their Ships, but after a long  
and

and obstinate Fight were repuls'd, and *Cingetorix* was taken Prisoner.

Upon news of this, *Cassibelan*, considering how matters stood, enter'd into a Treaty with *Cæsar*, by the Mediation of *Comius*. As Winter drew on, and his presence was necessary in *Gaul*, *Cæsar* readily consented to a Peace, the Conditions whereof were these; That the *Britons* shou'd annually pay to the *Romans* a certain Tribute; That *Cassibelan* shou'd deliver such a number of Hostages, and leave *Mandrubatus* in quiet possession of his Dominions. Matters being thus settled, and the Hostages delivered, *Cæsar* embark'd his Troops in the best manner he cou'd, put to Sea, and arriv'd safely in *Gaul*.

This is the Account *Cæsar* gives us of his two Expeditions into *Britain*; wherein we may observe that tho' out of an affected Modesty, he refrains from all Commendations of himself, yet by the bare Recital of his Actions he gives himself the most exalted Praises. To make a Descent with two Legions only upon an Enemy's Country, in the sight of an Army formidable for their Number, Valour, and way of Fighting; and what is still more strange, to ford the *Thames* at a Place stuck full of Sharp Stakes, the opposite Bank defended by numerous Troops, and besides, the Water so deep as to take the Soldiers up to the Neck; These are Actions that sufficiently speak their own Praise. And if this Great General, in writing his History, has been accused of turning every thing to his own Advantage, never does he seem to lye under stronger Suspicions of doing so, than in this Affair. One can't read the Particulars of his two Expeditions without being sensible, there is something wanting, and that what is pass'd over in Silence was not at all to his Honour. Not to insist on what is very hard to know, whereabouts the Ford, he mentions, lies, since in the Place, he is thought to have pass'd the *Thames*, there is no less than six foot Water, yet what I have said will appear still more evident, if we consider

*Remarks on  
Cæsar's ac-  
count of his  
two Expe-  
ditions.*



consider *Cæsar's* Design and Success in his attempt upon *Britain*. He sets out from *Gaul*, as *Dion Cassius* positively assures us, with an Intent to conquer and reduce the whole Island to a *Roman* Province. He every where gets the better of the *Britons*. He passes the *Thames* in spite of all obstacles. *Cassibelan* finding he cou'd not make head against him, dismisses his Troops. *Cæsar* becomes Master of his Capital, and the *Britons* submit and sue for Peace. After all this, he is contented with imposing a light Tribute on *Cassibelan*, and without fortifying any one Place, or leaving any Troops in the Island, he drops his first Design, satisfied with restoring *Mandubratius*, as if the War had been undertaken solely upon his Account. Does not this make it very suspicious that he was forc'd to take up with these Terms? *Lucan*, tho' no Friend to him, wou'd not however without some Grounds have accus'd him so flatly as he did of turning his back to the *Britons* (a). *Dion* tells us, that in an Action, the *Britons* entirely routed the *Roman* Infantry, but were afterwards put in disorder by the Cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus* (b) insinuate in several Places of their Works, that the *Britons*, in their Time, were not lookt upon as conquer'd by the *Romans*. From all this it is pretty plain that, the Reputation *Cæsar* acquir'd by these two Expeditions was not near so great as it is represented to be in his *Commentaries*. But be this as it will, certain it is the Advantages that accrued from Them to the Commonwealth were very inconsiderable; which no doubt was the reason of *Tacitus* saying, *Cæsar* had rather shewn the *Romans* the way to *Britain*, than put them in Possession of it.

The State  
of the Britons  
in the  
Reign of  
Augustus.

After *Cæsar's* Death, the Tribute impos'd on the *Britons* was not paid, nor, it may be, demanded, for twenty

(a) Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

(b) Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet  
Sacra catenatus via. Hor.

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus. Tib.

twenty years. *Augustus*, after the Civil Wars were over, being settled in the quiet Possession of the Empire, resolv'd to compel the *Britons* to stand to the Terms they had made with his Predecessor. To this End he proceeded twice as far as *Gaul* in order for *Britain* (c); but was prevented the first time by a Revolt in *Pannonia*; and the second, by being met there by the *British* Embassadors who sued for Peace, which was granted them. At last upon their not keeping their Word, he took a resolution to go and make a thorough Conquest of them. The *Britons*, inform'd of his Design, found means to divert him from his Purpose. *Tennantius*, who succeeded *Cassibelan*, sent the Emperor rich Presents, which were laid up in the Capitol. *Cunobelin*, his Successor, kept fair with the *Romans*. He order'd Money to be coin'd, some Pieces whereof are still to be seen in the Cabinets of the Curious, with the five first Letters of his Name, C. u. n. o. b. or C. a. m. the three first of *Camelodunum*, his Capital City, on one side; on the other, a Man sitting and coining Money, with these Letters, T. A. S. c. i. o. by which Antiquaries understand that this Money was design'd for the Payment of Tribute.

*Tiberius* left the *Britains* to enjoy their Liberty, satisfied with the Respect they show'd him in sending back some Soldiers of *Germanicus*, that were Shipwreck'd on their Coast. Tiberius.

*Caligula* pretended to make an attempt upon *Britain*; but being told, as he was embarking his Men, that the *Britons* stood ready drawn up to receive him, he desisted from his Enterprize. However, as his whimsical Humour carried him to the most extravagant Actions, he went on board a Galley, ordering them to row with all speed towards the *British* Coast. Caligula.  
On a sudden he was seen to come back as fast as he

G

went

(c) *Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos Orbis Britannos. Hor. l. I. Od. xxxv.*

went off. When he came on Shore, He harangu'd his Troops, as if they were going upon some important Undertaking. When he had done, a *Charge* was sounded, as if the Enemy had been in view : Upon which the whole Army, according to the orders given to the Principal Officers, fell to gathering Cockle-Shells in their Helmets. He liberally rewarded his Soldiers for their Alacrity on this occasion, and sent word to *Rome* of his Success, wishing the *Senate* to decree him a *Triumph*; which they making some Scruple to do, He was resolv'd to put them all to Death; but was hindred from his bloody design by a Conspiracy against him, wherein he lost his Life.

Thus the *Britons* enjoy'd their Freedom for above 90 years after *Julius Caesar's* second Invasion; and it was not till the Reign of *Claudius* that their Subjection to the *Romans* took its Date. The Occasion of which was as follows.

The Occasion of *Claudius* conquering Britain.

Plautius sent before with an Army.

*Cunobelin* left two Sons, *Togodumnus* and *Caractacus*, who both succeeded him : but whether they reigned jointly or separately is not known. It happen'd in their Reign that one *Bericus* for endeavouring to raise a Sedition, being forc'd to fly the Kingdom, betook himself to the Emperor's Court at *Rome*, where he was always laying out to the Emperor, how easy a matter it was to conquer *Britain*. *Claudius* giving Credit to what he said, resolv'd upon the Undertaking, and sent to the *Britons* to demand the Tribute due to the Empire. As it had never been regularly paid, the *Britons* exasperated moreover by the ill Reception the Embassadors, they had sent to demand *Bericus*, had met with, flatly refus'd to pay it, and at the same time prohibited all Commerce with the *Romans*. *Claudius* having what he wanted, a plausible Pretence for the War, sent *Plautius* the *Prætor* before, whilst he prepar'd to follow, when there shou'd be Occasion. *Plautius* landed his Men without the least Opposition; for the *Britons* having had intelligence of a Mutiny in the *Roman Army*, when they



they were going to embark, and not imagining it wou'd have been so soon over, had neglected to put themselves in a Condition to resist him. *Plantius* wou'd fain have come to a Battle immediately, but the *Britons* did all they cou'd to avoid it, with a design to make him lose time, hoping he wou'd, like *Cæsar*, go and winter in *Gaul*. But notwithstanding all their Precautions he found the means to attack *Togodumnus* separately; and having entirely defeated him, he went in quest of *Caractacus*, over whom he likewise obtain'd a signal Victory. The *Britons*, in pursuance of their first Design, kept off and went and encamp'd in a careless manner on the other side of a River, which they deem'd impossible for the *Romans* to pass without a Bridge; and so great was their surprize at seeing some *Germans*, who were wont to swim the most rapid Rivers, crossing over, that they immediately decamp'd and retir'd at a greater distance. Upon which *Plantius* pass'd over a considerable Body of Troops, under the Command of *Vespasian* and *Sabinus* his Brother, who advancing towards the Enemy, gave them Battle and put them to flight. But rallying again next day, they attack'd so vigorously a Detachment of the *Roman* Army commanded by *Sidius Geta*, that they put them at first into some Disorder; and had like to have slain or taken *Geta* himself; but happily getting out of their hands, he headed his Troops, and gave the *Britons*, who look'd upon themselves as sure of Victory, so furious a Charge, that they were forc'd at length to leave the Field. After these Losses, the *Britons* retir'd towards the Mouth of the River *Thames*. As they were perfectly acquainted with all the Fords, they pass'd the River without any difficulty, whilst the *Romans* who cou'd follow them only at a distance, fell among the Morasses, from whence they had much ado to disentangle themselves. At last the *Germans* having found a Ford, and the rest of the Army

having pass'd over a Bridge a little higher up (a), the Britons were furrounded on all sides, and great slaughter was made of them.

Claudius  
comes over  
into Bri-  
tain.

*Plantius* thought it now high time to send to the Emperor to come and reap the Honour of putting an end to the War. As *Claudius* had all things in readiness for his journey, he set out immediately. As soon as he was arriv'd, he put himself at the Head of his Army, and compelling the Britons to come to a Battle, entirely routed them. After this Victory, he advanc'd towards *Camelodunum* (b), where he met with little or no resistance, and carrying his Conquests on, he subdu'd some neighbouring Nations. Upon these Successes, he was saluted *Imperator* by the Army several Times, contrary to the Roman Custom that never allow'd a General to be honour'd with that glorious Title above once in the same War.

Finishes his  
Conquests  
in 15 days.

If *Claudius* by this Expedition, which was finish'd in 15 days, acquir'd great Reputation, his Clemency in leaving the Vanquish'd in possession of their Goods was no less honourable and advantageous to him. Touch'd with his generous Proceedings, they erected a Temple to him, and paid him *Divine Honours*. The Emperor having left *Plantius* Governor of Britain return'd to *Rome* after a six Months absence, where the Senate decreed him the Honor of a *Triumph*, and the Sirname of *Britannicus*. However *Suetonius* assures us, that he made himself Master of some part of Britain without striking a Stroke. But it is more probable, as *Dion Cassius* relates it, that it cost him a bloody Battle.

*Plantius* continued the Conquests the Emperor had begun, bravely seconded by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, who serv'd under him. *Vespasian* beat the Britons in 3

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(a) Notwithstanding the Authority of *Dion Cassius*, it is improbable there shou'd be a Ford so nigh the *Thames* Mouth, a Bridge a little higher up. He seems to have confounded some River that runs into the *Thames* with the *Thames* it self.

(b) Malden in Essex.

Conflicts; in one of which *Titus* his Son, who was then but a *Tribune*, had the good Fortune to save his Father's Life. He conquer'd two of the most powerful Nations and subdu'd the *Isle of Weight*. But as all this was done under *Plautius* the Commander in Chief, he reap'd the Glory of it; and at length being recall'd, the *Senate*, as a Reward of his Services, decreed him the Honor of an *inferior* sort of *Triumph*. Plautius recall'd.

*Ostorius Scapula* was sent into *Britain* in his Room. Ostorius sent in his Room. At his arrival he found the *Britons* making continual Inroads into the *Roman* Conquests. Upon which getting his Army together, he march'd against them in so sudden a manner, at a time they little expected him, in the midst of Winter, that he defeated the first that made head against him, and so dispers'd the rest, that he had nothing more to fear from their IncurSIONS. However to prevent his being expos'd to continual Alarms, he resolv'd to coop them up between the *Avon* and *Severn*, by building Forts along between the two Rivers. Before he went about this work, he settled a *Roman Colony* at *Camelodunum*. Much about this time it was that *London* became also a *Colony*, and that Part of *Britain*, lying between the *Thames* and the Sea, was reduc'd to a *Province*, by the Name of *Britannia Prima*.

The *Icenians* (c), tho' in Alliance with the *Romans*, were the first that oppos'd the Design of *Ostorius*; and others following their Example, join'd Forces with them, and encamp'd themselves on a very advantageous Ground. But however, the *Romans* forc'd their Intrenchments, and put them to great slaughter. After this *Ostorius* turn'd his Arms against the *Cangians* (d), who were soon entirely dispers'd. The *Roman Army* was not far from the *Irish Sea*, when news was brought the General that the *Brigantes* (e) were up in

(c) *The Inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire.*

(d) *In the Western Parts of Wales.*

(e) *Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland.*



Caractacus  
General of the  
Britons,

in Arms. This oblig'd him to put off the Execution of his first Design to another time; and being willing, before he proceeded to new Conquests, to make all sure behind him, he march'd back with all speed against the revolted *Brigantes*. This Insurrection was appeas'd by the Punishment of those that had been the Cause of it. But the *Silures* (f), the bravest and most powerful of all the *Britons*, cou'd be brought under neither by *Fair* nor *Foul* means. *Caractacus*, their King, was look'd upon as the greatest General *Britain* had ever produc'd. This Prince, on whom the Nations in Alliance with the *Cilures*, had conferr'd the Command of the Confederate Army, was retir'd into the Country of the *Ordovices* (g), where he had gather'd his whole Army together, with a Resolution to expect the Enemy. To this End, he had posted himself in an advantageous manner, on a steep Hill, at the foot of which was a little River. Moreover his Camp was surrounded with a sort of a Rampart of Flints and Stones, so that he seem'd to have nothing to fear, posted as he was. *Caractacus* to inspire his Troops with Courage, rid up and down on the day of Battle, representing to them, that this was the day, that wou'd give them Liberty or perpetual Slavery. He call'd to their remembrance the Glory of their Ancestors, who had driven *Cesar* out of *Britain*, and freed their Country from the *Roman* Yoke. The Soldiers, with loud Acclamations, declar'd they were ready to shed the last drop of their Blood in defence of their Liberty. The Resolution and Firmness, that appear'd in the looks of the *Britons*, startled the *Roman* General at first. But finding his Army extreamly desirous of engaging, he gave the Signal of Battle, after he had observ'd in what Places the River might best be forded. The *Romans* pass'd the

(f) Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire.

(g) Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire.

the River without any difficulty ; but before they cou'd approach the Enemy's Camp, they were expos'd to Showers of Darts, by which many were kill'd and wounded. Maugre all Opposition, they got up to the Rampart, which being nothing but loose Stones, they easily tumbled down. As soon as they came to use their Swords, the *Britons* cou'd not possibly with-stand the Brunt of the warlike and veteran Troops, but were soon put to flight. The Wife, Daughter and Brothers of *Caractacus* were taken Prisoners, and He himself, a few Days after, was unexpectedly deliver'd up to *Ostorius* by *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, to whom he had fled for Protection. He had commanded the Confederate Army of the *Britons* nine years, and his Fame was spread as far as *Rome*, where all the World was surpriz'd at his resisting so long the *Roman* Power. The Emperor order'd the Captives to be sent to *Rome*; and on a day appointed, the People being all present, they were brought before him as he sat on his Throne. First came *Caractacus's* Vassals and Retinue, then his Wife, Daughter and Brothers, and lastly He himself, walking with a settled Countenance, without hanging down his Head, or appearing too much dejected at his Misfortunes. When he was near the Emperor, he spoke in the following manner, if it be true that *Tacitus* has not put his own Thoughts and Expressions in his Mouth.

“ If my Moderation had been as great as my Birth  
“ or Fortune, *Rome* had beheld me this day her Ally  
“ and not Captive, and perhaps she wou'd not have  
“ disdain'd to have rank'd in the number of her  
“ Friends, a Prince Royally descended, and who  
“ commanded many Nations. My present Condi-  
“ tion is as dishonorable to me, as it is glorious to  
“ you. I had Arms, Horses, Riches, and Grandeur.  
“ Let it not seem strange that I shou'd contend to  
“ keep possession of them. Does it follow, because  
“ you have a mind to Rule over All, that every one  
“ must tamely Submit ? Had I sooner been betray'd to  
“ you,

*is defeated,*

*and deli-  
vered up to  
Ostorius.*

*His Speech  
to Clau-  
dius.*

“ you, neither your Glory nor my Misfortunes had  
 “ been render’d so famous, and my Punishment  
 “ wou’d have been buried in eternal Oblivion. But  
 “ now if you preserve my Life, I shall be a standing  
 “ Monument of your Clemency to future Ages. ”

The Emperor, mov’d with this Discourse, generously pardon’d them all. The *Senate* being met to consider what Honors shou’d be conferr’d on *Ostorius*, his Victory over *Caractacus* was extoll’d to the Skies ; It was equal’d to those of *Scipio* over *Syphax*, and of *Paulus Emilius* over *Perses* ; and they came to a resolution to decree him the same Honors. In the mean time, the Reputation of *Ostorius* began to lose Ground, whether he did not carry on the War so vigorously as before, or whether the *Britons* exerted their utmost to repair the Disgrace of their Defeat. They fell upon the Troops that were left behind to build Forts in the Country of the *Silures*, and wou’d have cut them in pieces, if they had not had timely Assistance from the adjoining Places. The Roman Commander was slain, with eight Captains and a great number of Soldiers. At another time, they defeated a Body of Troops that were gone out to forrage, and put the *Horse* that guarded them, into Disorder ; insomuch that *Ostorius* was oblig’d to advance with the *Legions*, which animating the *Romans* with Courage, they forc’d the *Britons* to retreat, tho’ with little loss. After this, there were several Conflicts, the success whereof was various, according to the Circumstances of Time and Place.

The Britons gain some advantages over the Romans.

The Silures are intrac-table.

The *Silures*, of all the *British* Nations, held out the most obstinately, exasperated at the Emperor’s Saying, *Britain* wou’d have no quiet, till, like the *Sicambri*, they were transported into some Foreign Country. They surpriz’d unawares two *Cohorts*, that, out of a desire of Pillage, had advanc’d too far into the Enemy’s Quarters. These they distributed about among the other Nations, to induce them to a Revolt. *Ostorius*, quite spent with Vexation and Trou-



ble at not being able to put an end to the War, died about this time. The *Britons* rejoic'd exceedingly at his Death, and the more, because they attributed it to his regret at not having it in his Power to put a stop to the Course of their Victories. Osterius dies.

*Aulus Didius* was immediately sent over, the Posture of Affairs requiring the Army shou'd not long be without a General. He found Matters in a worse Condition than ever, a *Legion* commanded by *Manlius Valens* having been defeated with great loss. His Arrival put a stop to the *Silures*, who, blown up with their late Success, were making Inroads into the Frontiers of the *Roman Province*. Aulus Didius succeeds him.

In the mean time, *Venutius*, King of the *Brigantes*, who had succeeded *Caractacus* in the Command of the Army, was perswaded by *Cartismandua* his Queen, the same that betray'd *Caractacus*, to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*. But a Quarrel breaking out between him and his Queen, the *Romans* were so impolitick as openly to espouse her Cause. This Partiality of theirs so enrag'd him, that he us'd all his Interest with his Country-men, to stir them up to a Revolt. Upon this the War broke out with greater Fury than ever, which *Didius* being very old, manag'd by his Lieutenants. The War breaks out a fresh.

*Verannius*, who succeeded *Didius* in the Reign of *Nero*, died before he had perform'd any thing remarkable, tho' his head was full of vast Projects, and he boasted in his *Will*, that had he liv'd but two years longer, he would have conquer'd the whole Island. Verannius succeeds Didius, and dies.

*Suetonius Paulinus* was sent in his Place. Great Matters were expected from this experienc'd General. His first Undertaking was the Conquest of *Mona*, or *Anglesey*. To this End he pass'd the *Foot* over in flat-bottom'd boats, the Sea being very shallow in that Place, and the Horse follow'd, some fording, others swimming. The Islanders were drawn up on the other Side, with the Women running up and down among them, dress'd like

H like

like *Furies*, their Hair hanging loose, Fire-brands in their hands, and surrounded with the *Druids*, who, with hands lifted up to Heaven, pour'd out dreadful Curses and Imprecations. This horrible Sight so astonish'd the *Romans*, that they stood stock still, expos'd to the Darts of the Enemy. But at length, the Shame of being terrified at a Company of frantick Women and Priests, and the Exhortations of their General, bringing them to their Senses and Courage, they fell upon the Enemy Sword in hand, and became Masters of the Island. The first thing *Suetonius* did, was to order all the *consecrated Groves* to be cut down, where the Islanders sacrific'd their *Captives*, and consulted their Gods by inspecting the Entrails of Men.

A general  
Revolt.

The Cause  
of it.

Whilst *Suetonius* was busied in these Matters, an unexpected Turn of Affairs oblig'd him to leave *Mo-na* in an abrupt manner, to go and settle Things of much greater Moment. *Prasutagus* King of the *Icenians*, had made the Emperor and his Daughters joint-Heirs to his great Treasures, hoping by that means to secure the Protection of *Nero* for his Family and Kingdom. But it fell out quite otherwise. As soon as He was in his Grave, the Emperor's Officers seiz'd upon all his Effects in their Master's Name. *Boadicea*, his Widow, a Woman of a great Spirit, opposing these unjust Proceedings, the Brutishness of the Officers was such, that they caus'd her to be publicly whipp'd, and her Daughters to be ravish'd.

This strange Barbarity was so highly resent'd by the *Britons*, that the whole Island was inspir'd with a Spirit of Revolt, which soon broke out into Action. The *Icenians* led the Way, follow'd by the *Trinobantes* their Neighbours. *Venutius* and his Party join'd with them; and in fine all the Nations that had submitted to the *Romans*, took up Arms with their Consent, the City of *London* only excepted. The *Roman* Historians themselves agree that the violent Proceedings of the Emperor's Officers gave the *Britons* but too just Cause to revolt. They were depriv'd

of their Estates without any *Form* of Law, by the *Veterans*, who were sent to settle in the Island. *Catus Decianus*, *Nero's Procurator*, without any Regard to the *Petitions* that were presented him, or to the *Ordinance* of *Claudius*, that left the vanquish'd in possession of their Goods, confiscated their Estates to the Emperor's Use. This Treatment bred in the Minds of the People so utter an Aversion to a *Foreign Yoke*, that they were all at once inspir'd with a Resolution to shake it off. *Venutius*, mortal Enemy to the *Romans*, fomented the Rebellion to the utmost of his Power. Even the Adherents of the Queen his Wife, dropping their *Domestick* Jars, and renouncing the Friendship of the *Romans*, join'd themselves to the rest of their Countrymen, for the Recovery of their Liberty.

*Boadicea*, burning with a Desire of Revenge, headed the Revolters, and exhorted them in a lively Manner, to take the Advantage of the *Roman* General's being at a Distance, to free themselves from Slavery, by putting the Foreigners, their Oppressors, all to the Sword. The *Britons*, closing immediately with her Proposal, fell, in a sudden and furious Manner, upon the *Romans* in their *Colonies*, which they had taken more care to embellish than to fortifie, and massacred All without Distinction of Age or Sex. Unheard of Cruelties were acted upon this Occasion. Wives were hung up with their Infants at their Breasts to make them in some Measure, suffer a double Death. Virgins had their Breasts cut off and cramb'd into their Mouths, that they might seem in the Agonies of Death, to eat their own Flesh. The *Veterans* at *Cameldunum*, having shut themselves up in a Temple, as in an *Asylum*, They chose rather *sacrilegiously* to burn them alive, than to starve them to death. In a word, their Fury was carried to that height, that not a *Roman* was suffered to live. Fourscore Thousand are said to have perish'd in this Massacre.

*A general  
Massacre of  
the Ro-  
mans.*

Let us reflect here a little on the *Politicks* of those *The Poli-  
ticks of the  
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Art of Government. Upon their having subdu'd a Country, they immediately sent thither numerous Colonies, who by degrees mixing and intermarrying with the antient Inhabitants, secur'd to them their Conquests. Of this, *Britain* is a remarkable Instance, where, tho' the Island had been conquer'd but 18 years before by *Claudius*, above 50,000 \* *Romans* were already settled, besides the Army of *Suetonius*, and doubtless some Garrisons that had escap'd the Fury of the *Britons*.

*Suetonius*  
in great  
Straits.

*Boadicea*, whose noble Stature, and Heroic Courage made them hope she had all the Qualities of a General, was now at the head of 100,000 *Britons*. She ardently desir'd to come to a Battle with *Suetonius*, whose Army consisted only of 10,000 Men, flattering her self she shou'd soon compleat her Revenge, by the Destruction of so inconsiderable Remains of the Enemy. *Suetonius* who expected no Succours from any Place, was in a great Strait what to do. The ninth Legion under *Petilius Cerealis*, was just then entirely routed. *Pænius Posthumius*, who had a considerable Detachment of the Second, refus'd to join him. Thus, *Suetonius* found himself reduc'd to a necessity either to go and meet the Enemy with his handful of Men, or to stay and expect him in some Town. At first he resolv'd upon the latter, and accordingly shut himself up in *London*. But he soon alter'd his Mind, and foreseeing that in endeavouring to save that Colony, he shou'd hazard the Loss of the whole Province, he march'd out, notwithstanding the Cries and Entreaties of the Inhabitants, not to abandon them to the Fury of the Rebels. He plainly saw, as the Case stood, he must either conquer or die; and therefore, so far was he from retiring from the *Britons*, who were marching towards him, that he resolv'd to go and attack them. He had occasion here for all his Experience and Conduct, to counterpoise by some means or other the great Advantage the Enemy had over him by their Num-  
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\* *Tacitus* says, 70,000.

bers. To this end he pitched upon a *narrow* Piece of Ground for the Field of Battle, with a Forest behind him, that secur'd him from Ambuscades in the Rear, and a large Plain before him, where the *Britons* were encamp'd. He drew up the *Legions* close together in the Center, the *Light-arm'd* were plac'd round about them, and the *Horse* made the two Wings. The Enemy swarm'd about the Plain in *Battalions*, and *Squadrons*, exulting at their Numbers, and secure of Victory. They had brought their Wives and Children into the Field to be Witnesses of their Actions and Sharers in the Booty.

*Boadicea*, with her Daughters by her Side in the Chariot, address'd herself to the several Nations, declaring, "It was not the first time the *Britons* had been victorious under the Conduct of their Queens. That for her part she came not there, as one descended from Royal Progenitors, to fight for Empire or Riches, but as one of the common People, to avenge the Loss of their Liberty, the Wrongs done to her own Person, and the Violation of her Daughters Chastity. That the *Romans* Lust was grown to that Height, that neither *Old* nor *Young* escap'd its Pollutions; but that the Gods had already began to punish them according to their Deserts; for one *Legion* that durst hazard a Battle, was cut in pieces, and the rest skulk'd in their Camp, or fled for their Lives; so that they wou'd be so far from being able to stand the Attack of a victorious Army, that the very Shouts of so many Thousands wou'd put them to flight. That if the *Britons* wou'd but consider the *Number* of their Forces, and the *Motives* of the War, they wou'd resolve to *vanquish* or *die*. That it was much better to fall *honourably* in Defence of their Liberty, than to be expos'd again to the *Outrages* of the *Romans*. This was her Resolution; but for the *Men*, they might, if they pleas'd, *live* and be *Slaves*."

*Boadicea's  
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*Suetonius*

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*Suetonius*

*Suetonius* also was not silent at the Prospect of so great Danger. Tho' he was assur'd of the Valour of his Troops, yet he exhorted them to despise the Clamours and Threats of the Barbarians. He represented to them that among the Enemy " There were more  
 " Women than Soldiers, and that the greatest Part of  
 " them, having neither Arms nor Courage, wou'd  
 " immediately take to their Heels, when they came  
 " to feel the Force of their victorious Arms. That  
 " in the most numerous Armies, the Decision of the  
 " Battle depended upon a *Few*, and that their Glory  
 " wou'd be so much the greater as it was the *less* divided. That they shou'd take Care only to keep their  
 " Ranks *close*, and to fight Sword in Hand, after  
 " they had thrown their Darts. And lastly, that  
 " they shou'd not lose time about the *Spoil*, which  
 " wou'd be the certain Reward of their Victory." These Words were followed with such loud Acclamations, and the Resoluteness of the Soldiers appear'd so great, that the General, not doubting of Success, gave the Signal of Battle. The *Romans* darted their Javelins without quitting their advantageous Post; and, after the Enemies Darts were spent, advanc'd Sword in Hand, seconded by the *Auxiliary* Troops, who fought with equal Bravery, perswaded as they were, there was no Safety but in *Victory*. Whilst they fought at a Distance with their Darts, the *Britons* were in hopes that the *Romans* terrified at their great Numbers, wou'd have fled before them. But when they saw the *Legions* advancing with *short* and *thick* Steps without the least Signs of Fear in their Countenances, they fell into Disorder, which encreas'd more and more, there being no Officers or Leaders to put a stop to it \*. The *Romans*, seeing them in this Condition, fell upon them with great Fury, and put the whole Army into the utmost Confusion, who thought of nothing now but saving themselves by Flight. At the same time the *Roman Cavalry* having broke thro' the *British Horse*

*A Bloody  
 Battle.*

\* What was become of *Venutius* ?

*Horse*, a terrible Rout ensued. The *Romans* spar'd neither *Age* nor *Sex*, but sacrific'd to their Revenge, the *Women*, *Children*, and even the very *Horses*. This Victory equall'd their most famous Ones, if it be true, as *Tacitus* assures us, that 80,000 *Britons* were slain, with the loss only of 400 *Romans*, and as many wounded. *Boadicea* escap'd falling into the hands of the Conquerors; but was touch'd with so deep a Sense of her *Shame* and *Loss*, that she ended her Days with Poison. *Pœnius Posthumius*, who had refus'd to obey his General, either to avoid the Punishment due to his Crime, or out of Regret for having lost his Share of the Glory of this Victory, stabb'd himself.

The *Britons*, after this, in the utmost Consternation, without a General, or Army, fled before their Enemies, without offering to make the least Resistance. Their Misery was still encreas'd by a Famine, which they had brought upon themselves, by neglecting to Till the Ground. All their Hopes were, that the Number of the Enemy being so *inconsiderable*, they wou'd be oblig'd to keep together, and by that means give them an Opportunity of forming an Army again. But these Hopes vanish'd by the *Romans* being reinforc'd with powerful Supplies from *Germany*. There is no doubt but, as Matters stood, *Suetonius's* Army wou'd have been sufficient for the compleat Conquest of *Britain*, had not the *Romans* fallen out among themselves.

*The miserable Condition of the Britons.*

*Julius Classicianus*, who succeeded *Decianus* in the Office of *Procurator*, disagreeing with *Suetonius*, thwarted him in all his Designs; in all Probability, because the General wou'd not suffer him to continue the Oppressions that had been the Cause of the Revolt. So great was the Animosity of *Classicianus* against him, that he declared publicly, and even writ to the Emperor's Ministers at *Rome*, that there was no Prospect of putting an End to the War, whilst the Management of it was left to *Suetonius*. In a word, he never ceas'd till an order was sent for him to resign to  
*Petro-*



Resigns to  
Turpilianus:

*Petronius Turpilianus*, who acted nothing remarkable, hiding his Love of Ease and Sloth under the specious name of the Love of Peace.

Succeeded  
by Trebellius.

To him succeeded *Trebellius Maximus*, as indolent as himself, and famous for nothing during his Government, but his quarrel with *Calpurnius* who commanded the 20th Legion, which was carried so high, that a great part of his Army deserting him, he was forc'd to fly to *Vitellius* General of the Roman Army in Germany.

Vectius  
Bolanus.

Petilius  
Cerealis.

Frontinus.

Agricola.

*Nero* being dead, the Britons enjoy'd some quiet, during the short Reigns of *Galba* and *Otho*, the Army being commanded only by *Tribunes*, among whom *Calpurnius* bore the chiefest Sway. *Vitellius*, having mounted the Throne, sent *Vectius Bolanus* into Britain, who knowing little of the Art of War, nothing was transacted against the Britons. *Vespasian* succeeding *Vitellius* in the Empire, appointed *Petilius Cerealis* in his Room. He defeated the *Brigantes*, the most numerous of all the British Nations, in several Battles. *Julius Frontinus*, who succeeded him, acquir'd no less Glory in subduing the Warlike *Silures*.

Towards the end of *Vespasian's* Reign, *Julius Agricola* was made Governour of Britain; for a particular Account of whose Wars, we are indebted to his Son-in-law *Tacitus*.

1st Cam-  
paign of  
Agricola.

The *Ordovices*, some time before the arrival of *Agricola* in Britain, having surpriz'd and cut in pieces a Body of Roman Horse that was quartered in their Frontiers, the first thing he did, after his coming over, was to march directly against Them; and notwithstanding they were retir'd among their Mountains, he made them pay dear for their late Success. Then he turn'd his Arms against *Mona*, which the Romans had been oblig'd to abandon, tho' he had no flat-bottom'd Boats to carry over his Men. Some of the Horse, whom he order'd to swim over with their Arms in their Hands, put the Islanders into such a

Consternation.

Consternation, that they forthwith submitted without striking a Blow.

*Agricola*, upon a careful Examination of Matters, He gains the Love of the Britons. found that the *Britons* were never to be tam'd by Arms alone ; and that *Lenity* was no less necessary than *Force*. And therefore, during the whole Winter, he set about reforming several *Abuses*, occasion'd by the *Avarice* or *Carelessness* of preceeding Governors. He put a stop to all manner of *Extortions*, caus'd *Justice* to be impartially administred, and the like. By this means he so gain'd upon their Affections, that he had not the least reason to fear their revolting, whilst he shou'd be employ'd in enlarging his Conquests. *Vespasian* dying about this Time, *Titus* his Son, knowing the great Merit of *Agricola*, continued him in his Government.

In the Spring he took the Field again, and march'd 2d Campaign. his Army towards the North, where he made some new Conquests. He observ'd the *Romans* generally lost in the Winter all they had gain'd in the Summer, because they durst not take up their *Winter-Quarters* in the Countries they had just conquer'd. To prevent this Inconvenience, *Agricola*, who was a great Master in the Art of *Fortification*, order'd Forts to be built, whose Strength and Situation were such, that the *Romans* might safely winter there, without any Fear of the Enemy.

He spent the following Winter in endeavouring to He gets the Britons to conform to the Customs of the Romans. soften the rough Manners of the *Britons*, and inspire them with a Desire of imitating the Customs of the *Romans*. Soon after this, *Britain* was adorn'd with stately Temples, noble *Portico's*, and many fine Buildings both *Publick* and *Private*. The *British Nobles* spoke the *Latin* Tongue, to which a little before they had the utmost Aversion. They wore also the *Roman Habit*, and in fine, as *Tacitus* remarks, they came to look upon, as signs of *Politeness*, what was only so many Badges of their *Slavery*.

3d Camp-  
pain.4th Camp-  
pain.5th Camp-  
pain.6th Camp-  
pain.

In his third *Campaign*, *Agricola* advanc'd as far as the River *Tweed*, building *Fortresses*, as he proceeded in his Conquests. The *Fourth* was taken up in subduing the Nations inhabiting between the *Tweed* and the two *Bays*, known now by the Names of the *Fyrths* of *Edenborough* and *Dunbritton*, into which the Rivers of *Glota* and *Bodotria* discharge themselves. These two *Fyrths*, one on the *West*, and the other on the *East-side* of *Scotland*, penetrate so far into the Land, that the space between them is not above 30 or 35 Miles. Here *Agricola* built Castles and Strong Holds, by which means the Nations that were yet unconquer'd were pent up as it were in another Island.

In his fifth *Campaign*, *Agricola* march'd his Army beyond the *Fyrths*, where he brought some Nations into subjection, and planted Garrisons along the *Western* Coasts over-against *Ireland*, designing to make a Descent upon that Island, having had perfect Information of the State of the Country from a Nobleman, who had been banish'd from thence.

In his sixth *Campaign*, *Agricola* pass'd the River *Bodotria*, ordering his Fleet, the first the *Romans* ever had upon those Seas \*, to row along the Coasts and take a view of the Ports in the *Northern* Parts. This struck a Terror into the Enemy; but animated the *Romans* mightily, finding they were sure, in those unknown Countries, to have always a Communication with their Fleet, which never was at any Distance from the Shore.

But whilst *Agricola* was advancing further Northwards, News was brought him, that the *Northern* Nations were up in Arms, and marching towards him with a formidable Army. For fear of being surrounded, he divided his Troops into three *Bodies*, hearing the Enemy had done the like. The *Britons* being inform'd of This, immediately rejoin'd their Forces, and furiously attack'd the *ninth Legion*, that was encamp'd at some distance from the rest of the Army, and

\* He is said to be the first that sail'd round the Island.



and were like to have become Masters of their Camp. *Agricola* having notice of this, march'd with all speed to their Assistance, sending the *Light Horse* before to prolong the Fight till the Army shou'd come up. At break of Day he was in sight of the Enemy, and the Army, seeing the danger the *Legion* was in, rush'd headlong upon the Enemy, and, after an obstinate fight on both Sides, made them give Ground. The *Fens* favour'd their Retreat, otherwise that single Battle had put an End to the War.

In the following Spring, the *Britons* took the Field again, and *Agricola* taking some *Natives*, whom he knew he cou'd trust, for *Guides*, march'd at the head of his Army in quest of them. When he was near *Grasbain-Hill*, he saw the Enemy drawn up to the Number of above 30,000. *Galgacus* General of the *Britons*, upon the approach of the *Romans*, represented to his Army, that as they were at the *Extremity* of the Island, they cou'd place no hopes in flight, and therefore nothing but *Victory* cou'd deliver them from perpetual Bondage. On the other hand, *Agricola* exhort-<sup>7th Can-  
pain.</sup>ed his Soldiers to do their Duty, putting them in mind what a terrible thing it wou'd be, if after

Defeat, they shou'd be forc'd to fly for Refuge to the *Britons*, who for 50 Years together, had felt the Force of their victorious Arms. Then drawing up his Army so as to prevent, as much as possible, the Effusion of *Roman* Blood, he plac'd the *Auxiliary Foot* in the *Front*, and the *Legions* in the *Rear*, whom, alighting from his Horse, he went and headed. *Galgacus* had rang'd his Men on the side of a Hill, that his whole Army might be visible at once to the *Romans*, hoping by that means to strike them with the greater Terror. The *Horse* were drawn up on the Plain at the Bottom of the Hill, and the Chariots ran between the two Armies. The Battle for some time was carried on with Darts, the *Britons* being unwilling to quit their Post. Besides, their small bucklers, and great *pointless* Swords were not at all

proper for *close* Fighting. However *Agricola* compell'd them to come to *handy-blows*, by detaching out four *Cohorts* of *Batavians* and *Turingians*, who fell upon the Enemy Sword in hand. The *Britons* not us'd to that way of Fighting, had their *Ranks* soon broken, and the *Cohorts* began to ascend the Hill. The Others, encourag'd by their Example, fought with the same bravery, and giving the Enemy no time to rally, overthrew all that withstood them. The *British Horse* began also to give Ground, and the Chariots were forc'd to drive up the Hill, to assist the foremost *Ranks* of the *Infantry* that were in *extream* Disorder. Tho' the Chariots at first somewhat daunted the *Romans*, yet they did but little Execution, because of the unevenness of the Ground. The Hill being pretty steep, the Charioteers had no command of their Horses, so ran indifferently over *Friends* and *Foes*, according as they came in their way. The *Infantry* that were posted on the top of the Hill, and had not yet engaged, seeing the *Romans* busied in pursuing their Victory, made a motion to surround them. *Agricola* perceiving their Design, order'd four *Squadrons* to advance, who not only routed this Body of *Foot*, but falling on the *Flank* of those Troops that remain'd on the Plain, made great Havock of them. This put the finishing stroke to the Victory. *Galgacus* finding there was no possibility of renewing the Fight, took the opportunity of the Night, and retreated with the Remains of his Army in so hasty a manner, that it was in vain for the *Romans* to think of pursuing them next Morning. The *Britons* lost 10,000 Men, and the *Romans* only 340. *Agricola* finding the Enemy was entirely dispers'd, and that Winter drew on, march'd back into the Country of the *Horestians*, who gave him Hostages.

Domitian  
recalls  
*Agricola*,

*Domitian*, who had succeeded *Tiberius*, his Brother, in the Empire, receiv'd the News of this Victory with a seeming Satisfaction, tho' inwardly he greatly envied *Agricola's* Fame and Glory; And therefore recall'd him,

him, under Pretence of making him Governour of *Syria*. But, after he had got the Senate to decree him a *Statue*, crown'd with *Laurel*, caus'd him to be poison'd. Thus was this great Man rewarded for all the Services he had done the Empire. and poisons him.

The *Britons*, all that part of their Country lying *South* of the two *Fyrths*, having been reduc'd to a *Roman* Province by *Agricola*, had however some amends made them for the irreparable Loss of their Liberty by the great Alteration for the better in their Customs and Manners: Arts and Sciences flourish'd among them: In a word, from meer *Savages* they became *Polite* and *Civilis'd*, an Advantage the *Northern* Parts cou'd never attain to. After They had thus conform'd to the Manners and Customs of the *Romans*, they made but faint Struggles for the Recovery of their Liberty, the most Part being very well satisfied with their Slavery. It must however be noted, that a great many chose rather to lose their Estates and retire into the *North* among the *Picts* and *Scots*, then to live in Subjection to the *Romans*. These were They, that in conjunction with Those among whom they had fled for Refuge, wag'd continual Wars with the *Romans*, not sparing even their own Country-men, whom they look'd upon with Abhorrence for sitting down contented with their Slavery.

As for Those that were subject to the *Romans*, they were forc'd to undergo all the Hardships that are usually the Portion of the Conquer'd. A thousand Pretences were us'd to lay *excessive* Taxes on Them. Their Estates were taken from Them and given to the *Veterans* that were continually coming over to settle in the Island. The Flower of their Youth were sent for Soldiers into other Provinces, a constant Custom with the *Romans*; for by thus draining the conquer'd Nations of their main Force, they put it out of their Power to revolt.

From



From *Agricola* to the Reign of *Adrian*, we have but a slender Account of the *British* Affairs. Whence it may be presum'd that the *Britons* were quiet, and the Inhabitants of the *North* left to enjoy their Liberty. It may also be observ'd in this Interval, that the *Romans* suffer'd the *Britons* to have their Kings, taking a Pride in having *Such* for their Subjects. *Juvenal* mentions *Arviragus* as King of some Part of *Britain* in the Reign of *Domitian*.

Caledonians make inroads into the Roman Province.

Adrian the Emperor comes into Britain. In the year of Chr. 124.

Raises a Rampart quite cross the Country.

In the first year of *Adrian*, the *Northern* People, consisting, as is suppos'd, of *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Britons*, tho' confounded by the *Roman* Historians under the Name of *Caledonians*, made Irruptions into the *Roman* Province. Their first Exploit was to demolish some of the Fortresses *Agricola* had built between the two *Fyrths*. Upon this *Julius Severus* was sent over, but before he cou'd do any Thing, was recall'd in order to be employ'd elsewhere. In the mean time, the *Caledonians* continuing their Inroads, the Emperor resolv'd to go over in Person and subdue these fierce and troublesome People. Upon his Arrival they rerir'd towards the *North*. *Adrian* however advanc'd as far as *York*; where he was diverted from his intended Conquest by the Description some old Soldiers he found there, that had serv'd under *Agricola*, gave him of the Country. In hopes therefore of keeping them quiet by enlarging their Bounds, he delivered up to the *Caledonians* all the Land lying between the *Fyrths* and the *Tine*. And at the same time, to secure the *Roman* Province from their Incursions, threw up a Rampart of Earth, cover'd over with green Turf, from the Mouth of the *Tine* to *Solway Fyrth*, 80 Miles in length, and quite cross the Country from *East* to *West*. Having thus settled Matters in *Britain*, he return'd to *Rome*, where he was honour'd with the Title of *Restorer of Britain*, as appears by some *Medals*.

How strong soever this Rampart of *Adrian's* might be, it did not prevent the Inroads of the *Caledonians*. As soon as ever the *Roman* Forces were at a Distance,

as sometimes they were oblig'd to be, they began their usual Irruptions. In the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, they proceeded so far as to break down the Rampart in several Places. Upon which *Lollius Urbicus* was sent to make them keep within Bounds. To this End, after he had quell'd the *Brigantes*, who had revolted, he rais'd another Rampart between the two *Fyrths*, where *Agricola* had before built his Fortresses. By this Means, and by encamping some Troops near at hand, that were always in a readiness to march, he pent up the *Caledonians* within their old Bounds, and compell'd them to be quiet.

*Marcus Aurelius*, Successor to *Antoninus*, made *Calphurnius Agricola* Governor of *Britain*. He repress'd the Insolence of the *Caledonians*, and more firmly establish'd the *Roman* Power over those *Britons* that seem'd to bear their Yoke with the most Uneasiness. In this Emperor's Reign *Lucius*, a *British* King, embrac'd the Christian Religion, which had been a long time before planted in *Britain*, tho' it had made no great Progress. I shall give a particular Account of this in my State of the *British Church*.

In the Reign of *Commodus*, the *Caledonians*, taking up Arms, cut in pieces the *Roman* Army, commanded by an unexperienc'd General, and ravag'd the Country in a terrible Manner. The whole Province was in danger of being over-run, had not the Emperor sent over with all Speed *Ulpus Marcellus*, who in a very little time put an end to this dangerous War. He observ'd that These Commotions and Inroads of the *Caledonians* were owing to the want of Discipline in the *Roman* Army, and therefore he set about to bring it to its ancient Strictness, which he happily accomplish'd. But notwithstanding These and all his other Services, the Emperor ungratefully depriv'd him of his Government, and had like to have put him to Death.

*Marcellus* was no sooner gone but the Army began *The Army* to Mutiny; upon which *Perennis*, the Emperor's Fa- *mutinies.*  
vourite,

vourite, broke or call'd home all the old Officers, putting in their Place such as were devoted to himself. The Army, exasperated the more at This, sent a Detachment of 1500 Men to accuse him before the Emperor of treasonable Practices. *Commodus*, having been jealous of him for some Time, deliver'd him up to the Soldiers, who executed him upon the Spot.

*Pertinax*  
made Go-  
vernor.

*Pertinax*, afterwards Emperor, was sent over as the most proper Person to suppress the seditious Temper of the Army. Upon his proceeding according to the Rigour of *Military Discipline*, he had like to have lost his Life in a Mutiny of the *ninth Legion*, being left for Dead among the slain. But notwithstanding all Obstacles he gain'd his End, and brought the Army at last to Obedience. Then desiring to be dismiss'd, he was succeeded by *Clodius Albinus*; whom, upon some Suspicion, *Commodus* recalling, *Junius Severus* was sent in his Room.

*Albinus*.

*Pertinax* being Emperor, *Albinus* was made Governor again. In which Post he was continued by *Julian*. *Albinus* by his Liberalities had so won the Soldiers Affections, that they proclaim'd him Emperor, after the death of *Julian*. At the same time, *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*, and *Pescennius Niger* in *Syria*, had the same Honour confer'd upon them by their respective Armies. *Severus*, dissembling the Matter with *Albinus*, made him an offer of sharing the Empire between them, which he accepting of, *Severus* march'd against *Pescennius*, vanquish'd and slew him. Then getting *Albinus* to be declar'd an Enemy to the State, he met him in *Gaul*, near *Lyons*, whither he had transported his Army from *Britain*, and gave him Battle, wherein *Albinus* was defeated and slain. Not long after this *Severus* divided *Britain* into two Governments. The *South* was given to *Heracitus*, and *Virius Lupus* had the *North*, bordering upon the *Caledonians*, who so infested him, that he was forc'd to purchase a Peace with Money.

*Britain* di-  
vided into  
two Go-  
vernments.  
An. 197.

After



After this Treaty *Britain* remain'd quiet, till the 15th year of *Severus*, when the *Caledonians* began to make Inroads into the *Roman Province*, encourag'd thereto by the entire Neglect of all Discipline in the *Roman Army*. They had advanc'd so far, that the Emperor, tho' 60 years of Age, and afflicted with the Gout, resolv'd to go over in Person with a numerous Army and make a thorough Conquest of the *North*. He carried with him his two Sons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*. Upon his Arrival, the *Caledonians* offer'd him an honourable Peace, but he refus'd it; and leaving *Geta* at *London* to take Care of the *Southern Parts*, march'd directly with *Caracalla* towards their Country, and penetrated even to the very Extremity of the *North*. In this Expedition, which was perform'd with infinite Toil, he lost 50,000 Men, in cutting down Woods, draining Bogs, or filling them with *Bavins*, and by the continual Ambuscades of the Enemy. And after he had encounter'd all these Difficulties and subdu'd those fierce Nations that had hitherto been unconquer'd, he found the Country cou'd not be kept in Subjection without a great Army always upon the Spot. And therefore he contented himself with dividing the Island into two Parts, by building a Wall in the same Place *Adrian* had formerly thrown up his Rampart, and not, as some have imagin'd, between the two *Fyrths*. This Wall, some Remains whereof are now to be seen, was call'd by the antient *Britons*, *Mur-sever* or the Wall of *Severus*, by the *English*, the *Picts-wall*. The Emperor leaving the Finishing of the Wall and Command of the Army to *Caracalla*, retir'd to *York*, and took upon him the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*. *Caracalla*, in his Father's Absence throwing off all Restraint, suffer'd the Soldiers to commit all Manner of Licentiousness, so that the *Caledonians*, who were little accusom'd to their Yoke, revolted with one Consent. *Severus* hearing this, but knowing nothing of the Reason of it, order'd the Rebels to be all massacred. A little after this he died at *York*, and his two

*Severus*  
comes in-  
to Britain.

Subdues the  
*Caledoni-*  
ans.

Builds the  
*Picts-Wall*

Dies at  
Sons, *York*.

Sons, having made a Peace with the *Caledonians*, return'd to *Rome*.

*Diocletian*. From the Death of *Severus* to the Reign of *Diocletian*, very little concerning the Affairs of *Britain* is come to our Knowledge. It appears by the Coins of *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, and of others, commonly found in *England*, that some of the Thirty Tyrants were acknowledg'd, if not present in Person, in *Britain*. *Bonofus*, who endeavour'd to usurp the Empire in the Reigns of *Tacitus* and *Aurelian*, was born in *Britain*. *Probus* the Emperor was the first that permitted the *Britons*, *Gauls*, and *Spaniards* to plant *Vines*. He sent over also into *Britain* great Numbers of *Vandals*, and *Burgundians*. It is generally suppos'd These Colonies were settled on *Gogmagog-Hills* near *Cambridge*, where there remains to this Day a Fortification thought to be the Work of these Foreigners; Tho' it is much more likely it belong'd to the *Danes*, who were for a long time Masters of *Cambridge*.

In the Beginning of *Diocletian's* Reign, *Carausius* was order'd to scour the Seas of the *Franks* and *Saxons*, that infested the *Belgick*, *Armorican* and *British* Coasts. He found the means to enrich himself so prodigiously, either by plundering the Spoilers, or by going Shares with them in their Booty, that *Maximian*, who reign'd then in the *West*, justly suspecting him, was resolv'd to have him assassinated. *Carausius*, inform'd of his Design, took upon him the Title of Emperor, and having by his Riches made a great Interest in the Army in *Britain*, his Authority was submitted to in that Island. *Maximian*, surpris'd at his Boldness, march'd against Him as far as *Gaul*. But finding he had got too sure Footing, judg'd it proper to make him Partner with him in the Empire, leaving him the Government of *Britain* for his Share. There are Coins still found in *England*, of these two Emperors, having on their Reverse two Hands join'd together with these Words, *Concordia Augg.*

*Maximian*,

*Maximian*, notwithstanding this Treaty, had still a Mind to get rid of his *Associate*, and to this End sent *Constantius*, whom he had just then made *Cesar*, with an Army against him. Whilst *Constantius* was employ'd in the Siege of *Bulloin*, which he look'd upon as the Door into *Britain* from *Gaul*, *Carausius* was slain by *Alectus*, who assum'd the Title of Emperor. *Constantius* immediately pass'd into *Britain* to drive the Usurper thence, before he should have time to put himself in a Condition to defend himself. A little after, *Alectus* was kill'd by *Asclepiodorus*, who, taking upon him also the Imperial Dignity, was afterwards slain in a Battle.

Whilst these Things were transacting, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* resign'd the Empire both on the same day, to *Constantius* and *Galerius*. The *Western* Provinces with *Britain* fell to the Share of *Constantius*, who, upon some Commotions in the Island, came over in Person, and dyed at *York* in an Expedition against the *Constanti-* Northern People distinguish'd then by the names of <sup>us comes</sup> *Dencaledonians* and *Vecturions*. Before he expir'd he <sup>over, and</sup> had the Satisfaction of seeing his Son *Constantine*, <sup>dies at</sup> *York*, whom he nam'd for his Successor, and who is conjectur'd by some (a) to have been born in *Britain*, of *Helena* daughter of *Coel* King of *Colchester*.

The *Britons* liv'd in Quiet, during the Reign of *Con-* *stantius*. He was the first Emperor that granted the *Christians* the free Exercise of their Religion throughout the *Roman* Empire, and consequently in *Britain*. For the better Government of his Dominions, He divided the whole Empire into four *Praefectures*, viz. *Italy*, *Gaul*, the *East*, and *Illyria*, which contain'd under them fourteen large *Dioceses*, or *Provinces*. *Britain*, one of the fourteen, was subject to the *Praefect* of *Gaul*, and govern'd by his Lieutenant. It was *Britain* divided by *Constantine* into three Provinces; *Britannia* <sup>vided into</sup> *Prima* or the Country South of the *Thames*, the *Ca-* <sup>3 and after-</sup> *pital*, *London*; *Britannia Secunda*, or *Wales*, *Capital*, <sup>wards into</sup> *4 Provin-* *Iscaes*.

## I 2

(a) *Usher*, *Cambden*, *Stillingfleet*. His Father is said to put away *Helena*, in order to marry the daughter of *Maximian*.



*Isca* of *Caerleon*; and *Maxima Caesariensis*, Capital *York*. This last was afterwards subdivided, but by whom it is uncertain, into two Parts, the *Southern* Part retain'd its old Name, and the other more *Northwards* was call'd *Flavia Caesariensis*. There were 28 Cities in these three Provinces that became so many *Bishops Seats*. The Lieutenant of the *Praefect* of *Gaul* had under him four Magistrates, two *Consulars*, and two with the Title of *Presidents*. These Officers, with several inferior Magistrates, manag'd all *Civil* and *Criminal* Matters. As for the Military Government, there were in the Empire two *Generalissimo's* (a), one for the *East*, and the other for the *West*. In *Britain* there were three General Officers, namely, *The Count of Britain*, who was to take Care of the Inland Parts of the Island, and, in all probability, of the *western* Coasts (b). *The Duke of Britain*, whose Province was to defend the *North* from the Irruptions of the *Picts* and *Scots* (c). And *the Count of the Saxon Coasts*, who was to guard the *Eastern* and *Southern* Coasts from the *Saxon Piracies* (d).

Besides These, there were other Officers for more private Concerns; for Instance, *The Count of the Emperor's Largesses*, that is, the Receiver-General (e) had in *Britain*, a *Register*, a *Treasurer*, and a *Procurator*. And the *Auditor* of the private Revenues of the Emperor, had also one to look after his Matters. From an Inscription found not long since, it is thought there was also a *Procurator of the Gladiators*. All these, with numberless other Inferior ones, made it their chief Aim to enrich themselves at the Expence of the *Province*.

After the Removal of the *Imperial* Seat from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, by *Constantine*, he was frequently oblig'd to drain his *Western* Provinces of their Forces, and, amongst the rest, *Britain*; by which means, it was so expos'd to the terrible Ravages of the *Picts* and *Scots*, that in the End they were forc'd to call in a *Foreign* Nation.

(a) *Magistri peditum.* (b) *Comes Britanniae.* (c) *Dux Britanniae.* (d) *Comes littoris Saxonici.* (e) *Comes sacrum largitionum.*

Nation to their Aid, who afterwards became Masters of the Island.

After the Death of *Constantine*, the *Roman* Empire was divided between his three Sons, but in a little time *Constantinus* became Master of the whole. He sent into *Britain* a *Notary* called *Paulus*, who committed numberless Extortions. *Martinus*, the Governor, tho' he cou'd not oppose him, he having an Independent Commission, yet cou'd not forbear perswading him to use his Power with more Moderation. *Paulus*, in an insolent Manner told him, they that found fault with his Proceedings deserv'd to be put in Irons as Rebels to the Emperor. The Governor enrag'd at these Words, drew his Sword and struck at him, but missing his Blow, he ran it into his own Breast and slew himself. After this, *Paulus*, protected by the Emperor, did what he pleas'd, condemning to Death or Imprisonment all that oppos'd him.

*Constantinus* us.

*The Extortions of Paulus.*

In the Reign of *Valentinian*, *Britain* was reduc'd to a miserable State, by the joint Attacks of the *Picts*, *Scots*, *Attacots*, *Franks* and *Saxons*. *Nectaridius* Count or Guardian of the Coasts, was defeated and slain, and soon after *Duke Buchobandes* had the same Fate. First *Severus* and then *Jovinus* were sent to put a stop to their cruel Ravages, but with no better Success. At length *Theodosius* the Elder, so call'd to distinguish him from his Son the first Emperor of that Name, was deputed, who routed the Pillagers in several Encounters, and drove them out of the *Roman* Province, having recover'd all their Plunder, which he restor'd to the right Owners. After this, he repair'd the ruin'd Cities and Castles, and, as the Enemy was retir'd beyond the two *Fyrths*, he built *Fortresses* on the Neck of Land between the two Seas, and made a fifth Province of the Country they had deserted, calling it *Valentia*, in honor of *Valentinian*. *Theodosius* having thus settled Affairs return'd to *Rome*, leaving the Care of the Island to the Governors of the five Provinces.

*Valentinian* an.

An. 368.

In

Valentinian II. and Gratian.

In the Reign of *Valentinian II.* and *Gratian*, *Maximus* was sent into *Britain* upon the *Picts* beginning to stir. Upon his Arrival he form'd a Project of dividing the *Scots* and *Picts*, whose union was the only obstacle to the Conquest of the whole Island. To this End he found the means to perswade the *Picts* to join with the *Romans*, by promising them all the Lands that shou'd be taken from the *Scots*. Not long after the *Scots* being attack'd by the two united Powers, were forc'd to abandon their Country, and fly to *Ireland* and the adjacent Isles. *Maximus*, according to his Promise, put his Allies in possession of their Country, but with an Intent to subdue them in their Turn.

Whilst he was thinking of these Matters, *Gratian* reigning in conjunction with his Brother *Valentinian*, made *Theodosius the younger* his Partner. His Choice, tho' applauded by All, was look'd upon by *Maximus* as a heinous affront to him, who thought he deserv'd that Honor much better, and therefore he resolv'd to assume the Title of Emperor. Upon this, instead of making War against the *Picts*, he endeavour'd to preserve their Friendship, with a view to keep all things quiet in *Britain*, whilst he should be employ'd elsewhere against the three Emperors. But the *Scots*, reinforc'd with some *Irish* Troops, making an attempt to recover their Country, put a stop, for the present, to his Designs. However, he beat them back into *Ireland*, and making as if he wou'd follow them thither, the *Irish*, dreading the landing of the *Romans* in their Island, sent to him to make his own Terms; which he did in a much more favourable manner than they expected, and then taking upon him the Imperial Dignity, He went into *Gaul* to fight *Gratian*. The Roman Historians inform us, that *Maximus*, having caus'd *Gratian* to be assassinated as he was flying into *Italy*, and dethron'd *Valentinian II.* was himself vanquish'd, and beheaded by *Theodosius*. *Valentinian* being restor'd, was soon after murder'd



murder'd by *Arbogastus*, who plac'd *Eugenius* upon the Throne. *Theodosius* fought the Usurper, and serv'd him in the same manner as he had done *Maximus*. Thus he became sole Master of the Empire, and remain'd so as long as he lived.

After his Death, the Empire was divided between *Honorius*, his two Sons. *Arcadius* was Emperor of the *East*, and *Honorius* of the *West*. As the latter was very young, the famous *Stilico* was Regent during his Minority. His first Care was to send *Victorinus*, a Man of a fierce and arrogant Temper, with a *Legion* into *Britain* to keep the *Picts* within bounds; which he not only did, but treated them as Subjects to the Empire, forbidding them to chuse another King in the Room of *Hengust*, who was just then dead. The *Picts* found by these Proceedings he had a Design to attack them, and fearing, after they had assisted in driving out their Neighbours, they shou'd be serv'd in the same manner themselves, came to a Resolution of recalling the *Scots*. To this end they sent an honourable Ambassy to *Fergus*, of the blood Royal of *Scotland*, who was retir'd into *Denmark*, petitioning him to return with his Country-men, and take Possession again of their Country, at the same time promising him the Command of their Army in the War against the *Romans*, which appear'd to be unavoidable. *Fergus* accepted their Offer, and sent to the *Scots* to let them know he was ready to put himself at their Head, in order to conduct them Home. They cou'd never have a more favourable Opportunity. The *Roman* Empire was torn to pieces within by Intestine Quarrels, and without was powerfully attack'd by barbarous Nations, that made horrible ravages upon the Frontiers. *Stilico* had been oblig'd to recall *Victorinus* with his *Legion*. At this juncture, the *Scots* re-enter *Britain* under *Fergus*, whom they unanimously chose for their King (a).

*Gordon Scotum*  
*Chr. Buchan.*

*An. 403.*

As

(a) I have follow'd the *Scotch* Historians, tho' the *English* accuse them of vending many Fables. See *Floyd* and *Stillingsfleet*.

Fergus  
makes War  
on the Ro-  
mans.

As soon as *Fergus* II. was seated on the Throne, he began to think of taking Revenge on the *Romans*, who were extremely weaken'd by the Departure of *Victorinus*: After he had made himself Master of the Fortresses between the two *Fyrths*, he advanc'd as far as the *Wall of Severus*, where meeting with little opposition he enter'd into the *Roman* Province and made great Devastations.

The *Britons*, consisting now of a mixture of *Romans* and other Foreigners, with the *Natives*, whose Interest it was to defend *Britain* as their common Country, finding themselves thus harass'd by their Neighbours, and being out of all hopes of any Assistance from *Rome*, resolv'd to elect an Emperor of their own, and for that Purpose pitch'd upon an Officer, of great Credit among them, called *Marcus*. But not having the good Fortune to please the People, he was slain or dethron'd, and another, nam'd *Gratian*, chosen in his stead. But being a Man of a cruel and bloody Temper, he was dispatch'd four Months after his Election. They chose next one *Constantine*, a common Soldier, purely for the sake of his Name. The new Emperor, being a Man of Courage, beat back the *Scots* and *Picts* into their Country, and then, making a Peace with them, he form'd a Design of becoming Master of the whole *Roman* Empire. With this view, he pass'd over into *Gaul* with the Remainder of the *British* Army, as well *Natives*, as *Romans*; but about four years after was vanquish'd by Count *Constantius*, and had his Head cut off by the order of *Honorius* the Emperor.

An. 410.

The *Britons*, thus left to themselves, were soon reduc'd to great Extremities, by the continual Ravages of the *Picts* and *Scots*. It was not in the Power of the *Romans* to assist them. They were invaded by the *Goths*, under the Conduct of *Alaric*, who, after they had taken and sack'd the City of *Rome*, had got possession of *Gaul*. On the other hand, the *Suevi*, *Vandals*, *Catts*, and *Alans*, were become Masters of *Spain*.

In vain therefore did the *Britons* implore the Assistance of the Emperor, who, to avoid their Importunities, publickly and freely acquitted them of the Roman Jurisdiction, An. 410.

Their Liberty made them but the more miserable, being by that means entirely depriv'd of the Protection of the *Romans*. In the Reign of *Valentinian III.* *Etius* having obtain'd signal Victories over the *Visigoths* and *Burgundians*, took pity of the wretched condition of the *Britons*, and sent them a *Legion*, commanded by *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, or according to others, by *Maximian*. They repuls'd the *Scots* and *Picts*, and forc'd them to retire into their own Country. But the Emperor having occasion for this *Legion*, it was recall'd, just as the Enemy was preparing to begin their Irruptions. Misery of the Britons.

The *Roman* Commander before his Departure, told the *Britons* roundly, that this was the last time they were to expect any Succors from the Emperor, and therefore advis'd them to inure themselves to Arms, in order to defend themselves against the continual attacks of their Enemies, exhorting them to repair the Wall of *Severus*, that it might serve them for a *Barrier*, offering them the Assistance of his Soldiers, and his own Direction in the Work. The poor *Britons* had nothing to do in their Extremity but to follow his Advice, and therefore fell to work upon their Wall, which as soon as they had finish'd, the *Romans* took their last Farewell of *Britain*, never to return more, about the Year 426 or 427 (a). The Romans leave Britain for ever.

The *Picts* and *Scots*, upon the *Romans* abandoning the Island, began their Hostilities with greater Confidence than ever. They attack'd the *Wall*, that had been lately repair'd, and being weakly defended by the *Britons*, they made large Breaches in several Places, that they might have no Obstacles when they had a mind to make Inroads into the Enemy's Country. Some time after, *Fergus* died as he was going

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to

(a) *Stillington* places it in the year 418.



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(a) *Stillingsfleet* places it in the year 418.

to Ireland, leaving his young Son *Eugenius* II. under the Regency of *Greham* his Grandfather by the Mother's side.

The *Britons* despairing of being able to resist their Enemies, abandon'd Part of their Country and retir'd more *Southwards*. Upon this the *Picts* and *Scots* resolv'd to send for Colonies from Ireland and the neighbouring Isles to people the Lands deserted by the *Britons*, whom they design'd to endeavour to drive entirely out of the Island. But *Greham* prevented them by his Authority from putting their Project in Execution, fearing the return of the *Romans*, whose low Condition perhaps he was not perfectly acquainted with: And therefore chose rather to prefer a solid Peace with some real, tho' not great Advantages, before a dangerous War. The *Britons*, by the Treaty, were oblig'd to pay a considerable Sum of Money, and the *Wall of Severus* was to be the Common Bounds between the two Nations. The *Scots* murmur'd mightily against this Peace.

*Eugenius  
breaks the  
Peace.*

As soon as *Eugenius* II. came to have the Reins of the Government in his own Hands, he resolv'd to break a Treaty his Subjects had protested against. Embassadors were sent to the *Britons*, to demand all the Lands the *Scots* were in possession of before the late Peace. The *Britons*, surpriz'd at this unexpected Message, conven'd a general Assembly; the greatest Part whereof were of opinion, that as the *Scots* sought only a Pretence to begin the War, which they affirm'd was unavoidable, the best way wou'd be not to grant their Demands, which wou'd only enable them to carry on their Design with the greater Ease. But Others, who knew but too well the extreme weakness of the Nation, were for endeavouring to find out some Expedient to satisfy the *Scots*, and avoid, if possible, a War, which cou'd not but prove very fatal to the *Britons*. They desir'd the Assembly to consider that the Nation, drain'd by the *Romans* of all their Soldiers, had been oblig'd to

abandon



abandon those very Lands that were demanded, and that their being possess'd of them was entirely owing to the Generosity of *Graham*; that it wou'd therefore be more prudent for the *Britons* to give up freely, what they cou'd not keep, than for the sake of that, to run the risk of losing their All.

Tho' these Reasons had a great deal of Solidity in them, yet the violent Party prevail'd by their Numbers, and the *Scots* Embassadors were sent back with an insulting Answer. A fatal War ensued, wherein the *Britons* in one Battle lost 15,000 Men. Then were they forc'd to sue in a suppliant manner for that Peace, they had haughtily refus'd. They obtain'd it indeed, but upon very hard Terms. All the Country lying North of the *Humber*, was to be delivered up to the *Picts* and *Scots*, who took possession of it.

*The Britons declare for War. and are beaten.*

*They make Peace upon hard Terms.*

That the *Britons* shou'd be reduc'd to so low and weak a Condition is not at all strange, if we consider, in the first place, they were not us'd to War. The *Romans*, always employing foreign Troops in their Conquest, never suffer'd the Natives to exercise their Arms. For this reason the *Levies* that were rais'd in *Britain* were sent into other Provinces from whence they never return'd. These *Levies* were so numerous, that there were twelve considerable Bodies of *Britons* in the *Roman* Armies, who were always recruited from *Britain*. In the second Place, *Maximus* and *Constantine* led such vast Armies from thence, as almost drain'd the Island of all that cou'd bear Arms. To this if we add their Losses after they were abandon'd by the *Romans*, it is no wonder the *Britons* became so easy a Prey to their Enemies.

*Causes of the weakness of the Britons.*

*Cambden.*

*Nennius. c. 23.*

From this Time to the Arrival of the *Saxons*, the History of *Britain* is very confus'd, by reason of the great difference among the Authors that have writ of this Age. What may be gather'd from them for certain, is, that the *Britons* elected several Kings, whose Actions we know but little of; and that these

*Gildas.*

Kings were slain or dethron'd according to the Caprice or Interests of the *Leading Men*. It is also probable, that several Kings reigning at the same time over different Provinces, contributed to the weakening one another by their Discords and Divisions. In fine, to compleat their misfortunes, a cruel *Famine* rag'd among the *Britons*. Prodigious Numbers, to save their Lives, retir'd into *Armorica*, where a great many of the Army, *Maximus* had led into *Gaul*, were already settled. Others, rather than starve with Hunger, deliver'd themselves up to the mercy of the *Picts* and *Scots*, who taking the Advantage of these Desolations, broke the Treaty, and passing the *Humber* ravag'd the Country in a merciless and terrible manner.

The Britons  
address  
themselves  
to Ætius.  
Gildas.

The extreme Misery, the *Britons* were reduc'd to, forc'd them to have recourse once more to the *Romans* for their Assistance. They wrote upon this occasion a very moving Letter to *Ætius*, then in *Gaul*: *We know not (said They) which way to turn us. The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians. Thus of the two kinds of Death, always present before our Eyes, one or other must be our Choice, either to be swallow'd up by the Waves, or butcher'd by the Sword.* *Ætius* was at that time making Preparations against *Attila*, who had enter'd *Gaul* with an Army of 800,000 Men; and therefore sent the *Britons* word, the Affairs of the Empire wou'd not permit him to comply with their Request. The wretched *Britons* were Thunder-struck with this Answer, not knowing what measures to take to free themselves from their unhappy Circumstances. However, a *General Convention* was assembled, to consult upon what was to be done. They agreed, as the only means to prevent their Ruine, to elect a *Monarch* (a), flattering themselves, that when united under

(a) By Monarch here is to be understood, One Superior to the other Heads or Kings on whom they depended in some measure. See *Selden* and *Guill. of Malmesbury*.

under one Head, their Divisions wou'd cease, and they shou'd by that means be the better enabled to resist their Enemies. But Dissentions still reigning among the *petty* Kings, they were so far from submitting to the *Monarch elect* that they sought to dispatch him out of the way in order to be chosen in his Place. It was therefore impossible for these *Monarchs* to subsist long, seeing all the *Male-contents* join'd together for their Destruction. Thus the *Britons* by endeavouring to unite themselves under One, plung'd themselves deeper into *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

We know not the Names of any of these *Monarchs*, Vortigern till *Vortigern*, Count or King of the *Dunmonii*, \* *elected in* chosen in the Year 445. This Prince, as he was <sup>445.</sup> the most Powerful and Ambitious, and the most impatient of a Superior, had all along been a declar'd Enemy to the preceeding *Monarchs*. Historians assure us, he even assassinated his Predecessor, to make Room for himself. He was no ways qualified to restore the broken Affairs of the *Britons*. As he came to his Power by *Artifice* and *Cabals*, so he minded little else but how to secure the Possession of it. He was moreover of a cruel and avaritious Temper, addicted to many Vices, and so leud, that he debauch'd his own Daughter, by making her believe she shou'd be a Queen. In the mean time, the Enemy must be repuls'd, and *Vortigern* was very sensible how unequal he was to that Work, which was the sole End of his being elected. But what perplex'd him most, was his being so little belov'd by the People, and his continual Fears of being dethron'd. Living thus in equal dread of the Enemies of the State and of his own Subjects, he imagin'd he had found out an Expedient to free himself from the *Danger* of the One, and *Plots* of the Other. But as he cou'd not put his Design in Execution without the common Consent of the *Britons*, he conven'd a general Assembly, and after

*His Character.*

\* Inhabitants of *Devon* and *Cornwall*.



*Proposes the  
calling in of  
the Saxons.*

after he had represented to them, in a lively and pathetic manner, the Extreme Misery of the Nation, and the great Danger from thence of being either driven out of their Native Country, or entirely destroy'd by their Enemies, told them, They had but one way to save themselves, which was to call in the Warlike Saxons to their aid, who were ready at hand, and by whose means the Britons wou'd soon be in a condition not only to resist the Enemy, but to repay them in their own Coin.

*His Proposal ap-  
prov'd of.*

The Fears that had seiz'd all their Spirits, the Hopes of still enjoying their Native Country, and of recovering their lost Estates, and doubtless the Desire of Revenge, all conspir'd together to make them receive this Proposal of *Vortigern's* with Joy. The next thing was to consider what Conditions they shou'd offer to the Saxons. *Vortigern* propos'd the allotting them some Province, that their own Interest might induce them to wage the War the more heartily and vigorously. But as this cou'd not be done without depriving some of the Heads of the Assembly of part of their Dominions, great Debates arose. At length it was agreed, they shou'd have the Isle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, as being a proper Place to land their Forces at, and also convenient for them, whenever they shou'd have a mind to return into their own Country. They voted moreover that the *Saxon* Soldiers shou'd be allowed Pay, which shou'd be settled by Agreement on both Sides. After matters were thus concluded upon, Embassadors were chosen to goon to negotiate this Affair in *Germany*. *Vortigern*, pleas'd with having carried his Point without being suspected of Self-Interest, thought himself out of the reach of all Danger. But see how blind and short-sighted is Human Wisdom! This very Expedient, by the Direction of Divine Providence, prov'd His one and the Nation's Ruin.

But before I proceed, it will be necessary to give some Account of the Saxons, a Subject but very slightly

slightly touch'd upon by the Generality of the English Historians.

About the Time the Romans began their Conquests in Germany, the Inhabitants of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, now called *Jutland*, leaving their Country, came and possess'd themselves of the Northern Parts of Germany. These *Cimbrians* divided themselves into three Nations, the *Suevi*, *Franks*, and *Saxons*. Some affirm that the *Franks* were a Branch of the *Suevi*. However this be, these three Nations making continual Advances Southward, arriv'd at length upon the Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The *Suevi*, towards Italy, the *Franks* to the South-West, towards the Coasts of Belgick Gaul, and the *Saxons* to the Westward, towards the German Ocean. The *Suevi*, were so terrible to the antient Germans, that they lookt upon them as a Match for the Immortal Gods. As for the *Franks*, they over-run at last the whole Province of Gaul, [and founded the noble and antient Kingdom of France.]

Origin of  
the Saxons.

Temple,  
Introd.

Cæf. Com.  
l. iv.

The *Saxons* possess'd themselves of all those Tracts of Land that lie between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their Territories, bounded on the West by the German Ocean, were extended Eastward to the Borders of *Thuringia*. Consequently they were Masters of *Saxony*, *Westphalia*, and all that Part of the Low-Countries lying North of the Rhine. The People that became subject to them were in time all called *Saxons*. But whether the *Saxons* were not so rapid in their Conquests as the *Suevi*, or whether the Course they took made it longer before they approach'd the Romans, it is certain they were not so soon known. The first Roman Historians (for to them it is we are indebted for our Accounts of the Northern Nations) that mention them, at least by the name of *Saxons*, are *Entropius* and *Orosius*, who inform us that *Carausius*, as has been related, was sent to clear the Seas of the Piratical *Franks* and *Saxons*. From that time they became Formidable to the Romans, and oblig'd them to keep standing Forces to

to guard the *German* and *British* Coasts. Upon the Declining of the *Roman* Empire, after the Death of *Theodosius*, the *Saxons* made themselves Masters of all the Country along the Coasts of the *German Ocean*, and extended their Conquests as far as the Islands of *Zeland*. Hence it was, that the *Frisons*, *Batavians*, and all the Neighbouring People were hardly known by any other Name but that of *Saxons*.

Stillington-  
fleet.  
Sheringham.  
ham.

Tho' several have wrote concerning this Nation, we are not for all that one Jot the *Wiser* in relation to their Original, or to the distinguishing the People that were call'd by the general Name of *Saxons*. And therefore the Beginning of their History remains very dark and confus'd, it being almost impossible it shou'd be otherwise, considering that Authors, for the most Part, have made no Distinction of *Times* and *Places*. One while, considering them just as they left their own Country, they have confounded them with the *Franks* and *Suevi*, under the Name of *Cimbrians*. Another while taking a view of them as beginning their Conquests towards the *North-West* of the Continent, they have represented them, as seated to the *North* of the *Frisons*, *Batavians* and other Nations of those Parts, subject to the *Romans*. Some have plac'd them at once along the Shore of the *German Ocean* and Banks of the *Rhine*, and even in the Islands of *Zeland*, as if they had, from the very *First*, inhabited these Regions. Others again, not observing that all their Conquests were term'd *Saxony*, and finding some *Saxons* in the *Eastern* Parts of *Westphalia*, have imagin'd they were a different People from those inhabiting along the *Rhine*. Just as if speaking of the *Franks*, I shou'd make a different Nation of Those that conquer'd *Gaul*, from Those that settled in the *Narbonnoise*. However this be, it is certain, when the *Britons* sent to desire their Assistance, the *Saxons* were in Possession of *Westphalia*, *Saxony*, *East* and *West Friesland*, *Holland* and *Zeland*.

Eyndius  
Chron.  
Zel.

Some



Some have trac'd back the *Saxons* to the *Tower of Babel*, and leading them from Country to Country, have at last settled them in *Saxony*, so call'd from them. Others derive them from the *Saca* or *Sassones* of *Asia* \*. Some there are that will have them to be originally from *Persia*, because of the Affinity between several *Saxon* and *Persian* Words. But They who are willing to spare the Pains of a laborious Search in this Matter, begin their History from the time of their coming forth from the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*.

The *Saxons* had, for some time, been in Possession of the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, when driven thence by the *Goths* (from whom that *Peninsula* was called *Gothland* or *Fuuland*) they came and settled in *Lower-Saxony* in *Germany*. Between this Country and the *Chersonesus*, were a People known by the name of the *Angles*, inhabiting about *Sleswick* in *Holstein*. In all probability, the little Country of *Anglen*, in thole Parts, had its name from them, or they theirs from it. These *Angles*, as well as a great Number of *Goths* or *Jutes*, whom *Bede* calls *Wittes*, having join'd the *Saxons*, in order to go shares with them in their Conquests in *Germany*, became in a manner but one Nation. But tho', from their major Part, they were generally all call'd *Saxons*, yet they had sometimes the compounded Name of *Anglo-Saxons* given them. There is no doubt but these three Nations were united before they came into *Britain*; the good Intelligence between them, their acting always in Concert, their Interests being never different, and the Government they establish'd here, are plain Proofs that they look'd upon themselves as one and the same People.

The true *Etymology* of their Name is as difficult to be known as their Origin. The most common Opinion, is that the word *Saxon* comes from *Seax*, which in their Language signifies a *Sword*. They had two sorts, a long one, that they wore by their Side, or at their Back, and another that was shorter,

M

which

\* This is *Camden's* Opinion, *Sacsons*, (i.e.) *The Sons of the Saca*.

which serv'd for a Bayonet or Dagger. They were both in the shape of a *Cutlase* or *Falchion*.

*Their  
Manners.*

As to their Manners, they very nearly resembled the antient *Germans*, as describ'd by *Tacitus*. They were naturally Brave and Warlike, witness their many Conquests. But to their Enemies they were severe and cruel, especially to their Prisoners of War, whom they sacrific'd to their Gods.

*Their Go-  
vernment.*

Their Dominions were divided into twelve *Governments* or *Provinces*, each of which had a *Chief* or *Head*, accountable to the *General Assembly* of the Nation. In time of War, they chose a General, who had the Command of their Armies, and was invested with almost Sovereign Power. But upon Conclusion of the War, like the *Roman Dictators*, his Authority was at an End. The Center of their Dominions was at *Brunswick*.

*Religion.*

As for their Religion, it was the same with that of the other *Northern Nations*, and some Part of *Germany*. The *British Saxons* embrac'd Christianity, towards the End of the *Sixth Century*. But they that remain'd in *Germany* were not converted till the *Ninth*, by the *Care* or rather *Violence* of *Charlemain*, who subdued them. The principal God's they ador'd, before they receiv'd the Gospel, were the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Tuisco*, *Woden*, *Thor*, *Friga*, or *Fraa*, and *Seater*. To these were the Days of the Week consecrated, as is evident from the Names the *Germans*, *Dutch*, and *English*, give the seven Days of the Week at this time. *Tuisco* is said to be the Grandson of *Japhet*, and to have peopled first the North of *Europe*. The Name of *Teutch*, the *Germans* give themselves, is apparently deriv'd from *Tuisco*. The God *Thor*, from whence the word *Thunder*, was the same among the *Saxons*, as *Jupiter* was among the *Romans*, that is to say, *The Thunderer*. *Woden* was the God of War, because under his Conduct, the first *Saxons* came forth from their Country, and made large Conquests. Their principal Families look'd upon him as their  
Founder,

Founder, and gloried in being descended from him. In all likelihood there were Two of this Name, that were often confounded; One more *antient*, whom they worshipp'd as a God; and Another not so *Old*, who was the common Father of the *Saxon* Leaders. There are still some Footsteps in *England* of the Name of *Woden*, as *Wansdick*, *Wansborough*, which are Contractions of *Woden's-dick* and *Woden's-borough*. *Friga* the Wife of *Woden* was the *Venus* of the *Saxons*. She was worshipp'd in the Shape of an *Hermaphrodite*, as being the *Goddeſs* of both *Sexes*. They had another God nam'd *Ermenswol*, the same as *Mercury*, and some others common to them with all the *North-ern* Nations. This is the best and clearest Account I can meet with of the *Saxons*, whom the *Britons*, by the Advice of *Vortigern*, called in to their Assistance.



*The*



## The State of the BRITISH-CHURCH, from the Conversion of the Britons, to the Calling in of the Saxons.

*The State of  
the British  
Church.*

**B**EFORE the Birth of our Saviour, the Britons like the rest of the World, the Jews only excepted, were gross Idolaters. They not only worship'd false Gods, but, if their own Historians are to be credited, had as Many and as Extravagant ones as the Egyptians Themselves. Andates, the Goddess of Victory, was one of their Principal Deities. They had also Gods, to whom they attributed the same Powers the Greeks and Romans did to their Appollo and Diana. But seeing the Druids, who had the sole Management of Religious Matters, never committed any of their Mysteries to Writing, it is no wonder we know nothing more concerning their Worship and Ceremonies, than what has already been taken notice of in the Introduction.

*The Con-  
version of  
the Bri-  
tons.*

Tho' it is a hard matter to know the precise time, yet all agree the Gospel was preach'd in Great-Britain soon after our Saviour's Death. They who will have it to have been in the Reign of Tiberius, don't consider, the first Gentile Cornelius was not converted till the Year of our Lord 40, that is, three Years after the Death of that Emperor. Baronius, upon the Authority of Simeon Metaphrastes, which he rejects with reason on several other Occasions, says St. Peter first preach'd to the Britons. This Opinion is the more improbable, because it is certain St. Peter perform'd the Office of an Apostle chiefly in the Eastern Countries. Others affirm, that Simon Zelotes undertook the Conversion of the Britons. Nicephorus Callistus, Dorotheus, in his Synopsis, and the Grecian Kalendar, tell us, This Apostle was crucified and buried here. At the same time we find in the Roman Martyrology, and in those of Bede, Adon, and Usuard, that St. Simon suffer'd Martyrdom in Persia,

The

The most currant Opinion for some time, and which was look'd upon as incontestable, tho' it has no better Grounds than the foregoing ones, was that *Joseph of Arimathea* was the first Apostle of the Britons. *William of Malmesbury*, a Writer of the xiith Century, desirous of making out the Antiquity of the Church of *Glaston* or *Glassenbury*, says, after *Freculphus*, that upon the Martyrdom of *St. Stephen* the Apostles were dispersed throughout the whole World. *St. Philip*, at his coming among the *Franks*, sent twelve of his Disciples, with *Joseph of Arimathea* at their Head, to propagate the Gospel in *Great-Britain*, where they arriv'd in the Year 61. After they had got over some Rubs they met with from the Inhabitants, a certain King gave them a little Spot of Fenny Ground, surrounded with Thickets, for a dwelling Place. Not long after, two other Neighbouring Kings having allow'd them twelve *Hydes* of Land for their Subsistence, the Angel *Gabriel* commanded them from God, to build a Church in the Place now call'd *Glaston*, but at that time *Insuitrin* (a). This Church was finish'd in the Year 63, and, as the Historian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour himself, as a mark of Distinction, to the *Virgin Mary*. For Proof of all this, in the first Place a Manuscript Chronicle in the Abby of *Glassenbury* is produc'd, by which it appears that the King's Name, who made the first Present to *Joseph*, was *Arviragus*. To this it may be answer'd, that indeed *Juvenal* mentions a *British* King by that Name in the Reign of *Domitian*. But this is nothing to the Purpose, unless it can be prov'd that *Arviragus* liv'd in the time of *Nero*, since it is suppos'd the Land the Church was built upon was given to *Joseph* in the Year 61. In the next place is produc'd a Charter from *St. Patricius*, wherein it is said, that *Glaston* Church was founded by twelve Disciples of *St. James* and *St. Philip* the Apostles. But besides several Marks of this Charter being forg'd, there is not a word in it of *Joseph of Arimathea*. In the third Place, is alledg'd another Charter from *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, who liv'd in the viiith Century, wherein it is declar'd, that the Church of *Glaston* is the most antient of all the *British* Churches. But neither in this Charter, which is more suspicious than the former, is there any mention of *Joseph*.  
To

Whether  
the Britons  
were con-  
verted by  
*Joseph of*  
*Arimathea*.

(a) That is, in the *British* Language, *The Town of Glas*, *Glaston* or *Glaston* means the same in *English*.



To back all these Proofs, a *Charter* from *Henry II.* King of *England* is produc'd, wherein King *Henry* assures us, that upon Examination he found it well attested, that the Church of *Glassenbury* was founded by the Disciples of the Apostles, and consecrated to the *Virgin Mary* by *Jesus Christ* himself. But this Assertion of King *Henry*, being grounded only upon the foregoing Proofs, is not to be regarded. Moreover it is certain that the *Franks* were unknown at the time *St. Philip* is said to come into their Country. Besides, *Eusebius* and several others affirm that this Apostle went and preach'd in *Phrygia*, and that he suffer'd Martyrdom in *Hierapolis*. Then for the *Hydes* of Land given to the Disciples of the Apostles, the word *Hyde* alone is a sufficient Refutation of that Story, since it is a *Saxon* Term; and every one knows the *Saxons* came not to *Britain* till the year 449.

It is very probable the Gospel was preach'd in *Britain* not long after the Death of Christ. *Theodoret* assures us, that the *Britons* were converted by the Apostles. *Eusebius* speaking of the Dangers the Apostles were expos'd to in propagating the Gospel in the most distant Countries, mentions, among the rest, the *British Isles*. Now the likeliest time to be assign'd for the Conversion of the *Britons*, was that between the Victory of *Claudius* and the Defeat of *Boadicea*. At the time of the General Revolt there were in the Island above 80,000 *Romans*, among whom, doubtless, there were some *Christians*, the Gospel having actually got footing then in many places, particularly at *Rome*. Upon this Supposition, I see no manner of Inconvenience in asserting with several modern Authors that *St. Paul* first preach'd the Gospel in *Britain*. It is certain this Apostle, in the eight years between his first Imprisonment at *Rome*, and his return to *Jerusalem*, propagated the *Christian Religion* in several Places, especially in the *Western Countries*. He informs us of his Design of going to *Spain*; and it is not unlikely but his Desire of converting the *Britons* might induce him to pass over into their Island. This Opinion may be supported by the Testimony of *Vennutius Fortunatus* in his Poem upon the Life of *St. Martin*, where he speaks of the Travels of *St. Paul* (a). But after all this

The Britons were converted soon after the Death of Christ.

(a) Transit & Oceanum, vel qua facit Insula Portum,  
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.



is but mere Conjecture, of no other use, but to make it credible that the Gospel was planted in *Britain* soon after the Death of our Lord.

Altho' this Opinion were prov'd beyond all Dispute, yet it may be presum'd, the *Christian Faith* had taken no deep Root in the Island; since, as several Authors assert, a *British* King called *Lucius*, sent Embassadors to Pope *Eleutherus* the twelfth Bishop of *Rome*, to desire him to send over some *Missionaries* to instruct him in the *Christian Religion*. Now is it probable he wou'd have done so, had there been any Churches establish'd in *Britain*, or even any considerable Number of *Christians*? *Eleutherus* very joyfully embrac'd the opportunity of replanting Christianity in *Great-Britain*, where, in all likelihood, it had been rooted out by the violence of Persecutions. He set about, in the first place, instructing *Elwan* and *Medwin* the two Embassadors, and having baptis'd and consecrated them *Bishops*, he sent them back to their own Country. By their means the Gospel flourish'd again in *Britain* and spread far and wide. I omit the many things that are said of this *Lucius*, particularly, the great number of Churches he built in *London*, because it is not likely the *Romans* wou'd suffer him to do it. I say nothing of his *Travels*, wherein he is said to convert several Nations, especially the *Grisons*, in whose Country he was martyr'd, there being no Grounds for these Things. It is possible some Christian nam'd *Lucius*, might preach the Gospel to the *Grisons* and suffer Martyrdom at *Caire*.

*The Conversion of Lucius.*

From the Conversion of *Lucius* to *Diocletian's* Persecution, the *Ecclesiastical History* of *Britain* is entirely unknown. It is very probable, however, that during that Interval of 80 years, the *Christian Religion* made great Progress in the Island, as appears from *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Bede*, and *Gildas*. But what puts the matter out of all doubt, is, the multitude of *British Martyrs*, that suffer'd during the dreadful Persecution, under *Diocletian* and *Maximian* his Colleague. The first Martyr was *St. Alban*, who had been converted at *Verulam* (a) by a Priest, whom he had harbour'd in his House. How great an Inclination soever *Constantius Clorus* had to favour the Christians, it was not in his Power, when Governor of *Britain*, to dispense with the *Edicts* of the Emperors. But as soon as he came to the Empire, he put a stop to the Persecution. *Constantine* his Son went farther, under whom the *Christian Religion* flourish'd throughout his Dominions, particularly in *Great-Britain*, where some will have it that he was born.

*St. Alban the first British Martyr.*

After this happy Change, the Christians multiplied exceedingly, and the Island abounded with Churches. Some affirm there were *British Bishops* at the Council of *Nice* in 325. But tho' this can't be sufficiently prov'd, it is not at all unlikely, since 22 Years after, there were for certain three *British Bishops* at the Council of *Arles*; as there were also some at the Council of *Ariminum* in 359, but so poor that

(a) Called afterwards from him *St. Albans*.

that their *Charges* were born by their Brethren. \* Their Signing at this Council the *Confession of Faith*, wherein the Term *Consubstantial* was omitted, gave Occasion to some to imagine that *Arianism* was spread in *Britain*. But a Modern Author has made it appear that the *Faith* of the *British* Church was the same in this Point both before and after this Council, which had not the Effect the *Hereticks* promis'd themselves.

The *British* Church was much more justly accus'd of *Pelagianism*. Certain it is, several Bishops were seduc'd, not by *Pelagius* himself, who tho' a native of *Britain*, never return'd thither, but by *Agricola* one of his Disciples. The *Orthodox* Bishops finding the Evil to increase daily, sent to desire their Brethren in *Gaul* to assist them in confuting this *Heresie*. The *Gaulish* Prelates, assembled in Council, deputed *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes*, to go over into *Britain*. At *Verulam*, in a Conference with the *Pelagians*, they defended the Truth in so forcible and evident a manner, that they brought off several from their Errors. But after their Departure, the *Hereticks* gaining Ground again, *Germanus*, tho' of a great Age, made a second Voyage to *Britain*, in Company with *Severus* Bishop of *Troyes*. And despairing to convince the *Hereticks* by Arguments, by reason of their Obstinacy, he caus'd the *Edict* of *Valentinian* III. that condemns all *Hereticks* to Banishment, to be put in Execution against Them. Before he left *Britain*, he erected *Schools*, which produc'd afterwards many Bishops illustrious for their Learning and Piety.

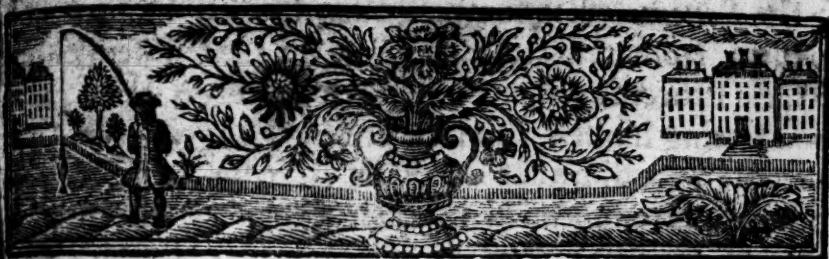
Corruption  
the Britons  
cause of  
their Mis-  
eries.

From this time to the Arrival of the *Saxons* we know but little of the Affairs of the *British* Church. There is no doubt the Wars with the *Picts* and *Scots*, by destroying their Churches, and what is worse, by introducing a Corruption of Manners among the *Clergy* as well as *Laiety*, were very prejudicial to the Christians. However, if we may believe *Gildas* and *Bede*, it was not so much the Wars, as the excessive Plenty immediately after the Famine, that corrupted the Manners of the *Britons*. The People, from a State of extreme Want being suddenly surrounded with Plenty of all Things, abandon'd themselves to all manner of Wickedness. The *Clergy* out-doing even the *Laiety* became exceeding vicious. Gluttony, Drunkenness, Avarice, Luxury reigning among the *Ecclesiastics*, They never minded the Preaching to their Flocks the Precepts of the *Gospel*, that were so little regarded by themselves. To this general Corruption, according to these two Historians, are to be attributed the terrible Calamities that befel the *British* Nation, the which are the Subject of the following Book.

\* *Du Pin* says, the Bishops of *France* and *Britain* chose rather to bear their own Expences, than accept of the Emperor's Allowance, which they thought was beneath them.

The End of BOOK I.





# THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

## BOOK II.

*The Arrival of the Saxons. Hengist their Leader is made King of Kent by Vortigern, who falls in Love with his Niece. Long and bloody Wars between the Saxons and Britons under the Conduct of Ambrosius first, and afterwards of the great King Arthur. The Founding, at different Times, the Heptarchy, or seven Kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons. The Britons are driven into Wales, where they have subsisted ever since a distinct People from the English. The Extirpation of the Christian Religion throughout their Conquests by the Anglo-Saxons.*



**I**N a desperate Disease, we apply, without any Scruple, a desperate Remedy, because we consider only the Benefit that may be received by it. The Britons, tho' frequently great Sufferers by the Irruptions of the Saxons, fix'd their Thoughts only on the Valour of that Nation, believing them alone capable of freeing them from the Misfortunes they labour'd under. If they had had a Choice to make, perhaps they wou'd have weigh'd the Inconveniencies as well as Conveniencies of calling in the Saxons to their Aid. But as they had no other way to take, they never attended to such Objects as a just Fear might lay before their eyes. Moreover *Vortigern* did all he cou'd to hinder them from altering their Minds, by crying up the Advantage, that wou'd accrue to them from the Assistance  
N of



*The Embassadors  
are sent a-  
way.*

of the *Saxons*. By soothing their Hopes, he prevented them from reflecting maturely on the Consequences of their Proceedings. Thus every one being intent only upon freeing himself from the present Dangers, the Ambassadors were dispatcht away in all haste, and the Negotiation recommended to their Care, on the success whereof entirely depended, as they imagin'd, the Safety of their Country. Upon the Arrival of the *British* Ambassadors *Witigisil*, General of the *Saxons*, having summon'd an Assembly, to hear what they had to propose, the Chief of the Embassy address'd himself to them in the following manner :

*Their  
Speech to  
them.*

*Illustrious and Generous Saxons, the Britons, harass'd and oppress'd by the continual Inroads of the Picts and Scots, their Neighbours and Enemies, send us to you to implore your Assistance. The Fame of your Victories has reach'd our Ears. We are sensible your Arms are irresistible, and therefore are come to sue for your Protection. Britain for many Years made a considerable Part of the Roman Empire; but our Masters having abandon'd us, We know no Nation more powerful than Your Selves, or better able to protect us. Grant but our Request, and in return we offer All that a rich and fertile Country, such as ours is, can afford. Put what Price you please on your Protection: We shall submit to what Terms you your selves shall judge reasonable, provided by your Aid we are enabled to drive the Enemy out of our Country (a). The Britons having thus told them the Cause of their Coming, the Saxon General return'd them this short tho' favorable Answer. Be assur'd the Saxons will stand by you in your pressing Necessities. Accordingly a Supply of 9000 Men was granted them, on Condition the Saxons were put in possession of the Isle of Thanet, and their Troops allow'd a certain Pay.*

*Nennius.  
W. of  
Malm.  
Bede. l. i.*

*Britain* was not unknown to the *Saxons*. They had been

(a) *Witichind*, a Saxon Historian, puts these words in the mouth of the *British* Ambassadors; however it can't be denied but that they are very natural, considering the deplorable Condition the *Britons* were in.

been dreaded for a considerable time before by the Inhabitants of the *Eastern* Coasts, where they had made several Descents. If they had not as yet attempted any Conquests in the Island, it was because they thought those they had undertaken on the *Continent* were of greater Importance. Perhaps too they were but little acquainted with the Weakness of the *Britons*, before they themselves made the Discovery. However this be, this Embassy, at such a Juncture, was exceeding proper to inspire them with a Design to settle in *Britain*. It is no wonder therefore they complied so readily with the *Britons* Request. *Hengist* and *Horfa* (b), the Sons of *Wirigisil*, were nominated to command the Forces design'd for *Britain*.

*Hengist* was about 30 years Old. He first bore Arms under his Father, after which, for his improvement in the Art of War, he went and serv'd in the *Roman* Armies, the Emperors generally keeping some *Saxon* Troops in *Pay*. This young Warrior had all the Qualifications necessary for the Undertaking he was entrusted with. His Valour and Experience, the Soundness of his Judgment, his Address, his engaging and condescending Behaviour, warranted in some Measure his Success. As for *Horfa*, nothing in particular is said of him.

The *Saxons*, tho' they had promis'd to do it, did not think fit to send over at once so considerable a Body of Troops, as 9000 Men, to a Country they had but an imperfect knowledge of. And therefore pretending the rest were not ready by reason of their great Distance, they shipp'd off only a Part of them on board three *Keyles* or Long-boats; The nature of which Vessels (c), plainly show their Number was very inconsiderable. Historians have not clearly mark'd the Place from whence they embark'd. It is very probable it was from *Zeland*, then in possession of the

N 2

*Saxons.*

(b) *Horfa* signifies a *Horse*, and *Hengist*, a *Stone-horse*. It was usual with the *Saxons* to give their Children the Names of Animals.

(c) They are called in Latin *Giula*.

*Saxons*, and besides the most commodious as well as nearest Place to the Isle of *Thanet*, where they were to land.

*Vortigern*, who had his own much more than the Nation's Interest, at Heart, was mightily pleas'd with the Success of his Embassy. He very well knew how ill-affected his Subjects stood towards him; and therefore the Hopes of being protected from his Domestick, as well as Foreign, Enemies, had induc'd him to seek to the *Saxons* for their Assistance.

449.  
The Saxons  
arrive in  
Britain.

In the mean time, *Hengist* and *Horfa* having put to Sea, arrived at *Ebbesfleet* in the Isle of *Thanet*; where *Vortigern*, to prepossess them in his Favour, stood ready on the shore, and receiv'd them with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Respect imaginable, putting them in immediate Possession of the Island, according to the Agreement. When they had refresh'd themselves a little after the fatigues of their Voyage, he led them against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who were advanc'd as far as *Stamford* in *Lincolnshire*. In the first Battel, the *Saxons*, whose very Looks had struck a Terror into the Enemy, not regarding their Darts, march'd up to them, and coming to a close Fight, which the others had not been accusom'd to, soon put them to flight. The *Picts* and *Scots*, dishearten'd at this and several other Defeats, retir'd by degrees into their own Country, dreading nothing so much as coming to an Engagement with the *Saxons*.

G. Mal-  
mesb.

Nennius.

Langhorn,  
Chron.  
Reg. Angl.

*Vortigern* was overjoy'd to see his Projects succeed thus far so prosperously. But his main Point was still behind, the winning over the *Saxons* to his Side and Interest. With this view, he presented the two Brothers with some Lands in *Lincolnshire*, where they gave the Enemy the first Repulse (d). If *Vortigern* was intent upon his Designs, *Hengist* had his Ends no less in view. The weak Estate of the *Britons* gave him hopes he should

(d) Some affirm these Lands lay in *Kent*. But *Nennius* assures us, they were in *Londesiâ*, or *Lindeſiâ*, Regione. *Lindum* is Latin for *Lincoln*.



be able to procure himself a Settlement in their Country: Accordingly he had begun to chalk out the Measures he was to take to bring his Matters about. The Lands *Vortigern* had presented him with, furnish'd him with an Opportunity of making the *Britons* fall into the Snare he had laid for them. He represented to the King, that the Service he did the *Britons* in the North, obliging him to be at a Distance from the Isle of *Thamet*, he had No-where to lay up in safety the Booty he shou'd take from the Enemy; adding, he was apprehensive, whilst he shou'd be employ'd in the Northern Wars, Others might come and carry off the Fruits of his Labours. And therefore he begg'd leave to build a little Fort some-where on the Lands he had given him. *Vortigern*, who was very willing to do him any Favour, readily complied with his Request. Historians, for the most Part, tell us he only ask'd leave to wall in as much Ground as he cou'd surround with the Hide of an Ox; which being granted him, he cut the Hide out into small Thongs, and inclos'd with them a space large enough for his Purpose; where he built a Fort immediately, without giving the *Britons* time to oppose his design. This seems to be confirm'd by the Name of the Castle, *Thong-Castor* \*, that is, *the Castle of Thongs* (e). It may indeed be said that the Name of this Castle might give occasion to apply to it the Story *Justin* relates of *Dido*, when she was going to build *Carthage*. On the other hand it is very possible *Hengist* might have been inform'd of this Artifice of *Dido*'s, whilst he serv'd in the *Roman* Armies.

The *Britons* seeing a Castle built in the Heart of their Country, fell a murmuring against the King, suspecting him of underhand Dealings with the *Saxons*. *Hengist* finding how Matters stood, and having divid'd into *Vortigern*'s Designs, told him, that the *Britons*, since

*Hengist*  
builds  
Thong-  
Castor.

More Sax-  
ons arrive  
a year after  
the first.

\* It is now call'd *Castor*, 6 miles from *Grimsby*.

(e) *Accepitque Solum factum de nomine tergum, Taurino quantum posuit circumdare tergo.*

*Epitome of History of England, in Latin Verse.*

since their being freed from the Fears of their Enemies, were grown so insolent, that they only wanted an opportunity to take away his Crown, and give it to another. That therefore he advis'd him, in order to divert the storm that hung over his Head, to send forthwith for the rest of the *Saxon* Troops that were design'd for *Britain*. *Vortigern* readily gave in to this Advice; which suited so well with his Project, and press'd him to put it in execution without loss of time. Upon which *Hengist* sent to *Witigisl* his Father to dispatch away the Troops immediately; which accordingly he did in 16 large Vessels, sending over with them, *Escus* and *Rowena*, the eldest Son and Niece of *Hengist*.

450.

*Vortigern*  
becomes  
more Arbitrary.

*Vortigern* upon this grew more absolute, and treated the *Britons* with a great deal of Pride and Haughtiness, which confirm'd them more and more in their Suspicions of him. He made no scruple to allot Habitations for the *New-comers*, without ever consulting his Subjects. From that time, he and *Hengist* enter'd into a strict Friendship. They stood in need of one another for their mutual Defence against the *Britons*, who openly enough express'd how much they were dissatisfied with Proceedings.

*Hengist*  
lays a snare  
for *Vortigern*.

*Hengist*, in the mean while, omitted nothing that might contribute to the bringing about his Ends. Above all things he studied the Humour and Temper of *Vortigern*; and finding that *Love* was his most prevailing Passion, he took his Measures accordingly. He one day begg'd the favour he wou'd honour him with his Company at *Thong-Castor*. *Vortigern* willingly accepted of his Invitation, looking upon it as a farther Means to encrease their Friendship, so necessary for him. *Hengist* had prepar'd for him a splendid Entertainment. But what pleas'd his Guest the most, was the Young *Rowena*, one of the most beautiful Ladies in her time. *Hengist* had order'd her to stand directly over against the King, on pretence to do him Honour, but in truth that he might, during the Repast, feed his

Eyes

Eyes with that lovely Object. His Plot took, for *Vortigern* kept his Eyes all the time fix'd upon *Rowena*, who by her Looks gave him to understand, she was not insensible of the Honour he did her. *Hengist* perceiving the Impression *Rowena's* Beauty made upon the King, was resolv'd to give his growing Passion no time to cool. He made a certain sign to his Niece, upon which, going to the side-Board, she fill'd a gold Cup with Wine, and presented it on her Knees to the King, saying in her Language, *Liever Kyning Was's Heal*, that is, *Dear King, Your Health*. *Vortigern*, agreeably surpris'd, ask'd his Interpreter what she said, and how he must answer her in *Saxon*. Then looking upon her very amorously, he said, *Drinck Heal*, that is, *Do you drink the Health*. *Rowena* upon that, just putting the Cup to her Lips, gave it to the King, who immediately rise up to give her a Salute, which *Rowena* receiving in a very respectful Manner, and making a profound Reverence, withdrew, leaving the King full of Love and Desire. This may be said to be a fatal Moment to *Britain*, as will appear by the Sequel. So true it is, that the greatest Events sometimes owe their Original to Things that seem at first to be of little Moment.

From that time, *Vortigern* cou'd think of nothing but the Possession of *Rowena*, and therefore, notwithstanding his having a Wife already, demanded her in Marriage. *Hengist*, to make the King the more eager by laying Obstacles in the way, told him, he cou'd not, contrary to the Custom of the *Saxons*, give his Niece to a Prince that was already married; adding he was not entire Master of *Rowena*, and besides the Princes of his Nation, particularly his Father, perhaps wou'd never consent she should marry a Christian, how much soever it was to her advantage. The amorous *Vortigern* resolving to surmount all Difficulties, began with divorcing his Wife, by whom he had had several Children; Then gave his Word, that *Rowena* shou'd have the free Exercise of her Religion; and in the last place,

*who falls  
in love  
with Row-  
ena.*

*He gives  
Kent to  
Hengist.*



to stop the Mouths of the *Saxon* Princes in *Germany*, he devis'd an Expedient, or perhaps it was suggested to him, by which he imagin'd he shou'd be able to reconcile his Love with his Politicks, and that was, the investing *Hengist* and *Horfa* with the Sovereignty of *Kent*, with leave to people it with *Saxons*. This being what the crafty *Saxon* wanted, all Obstacles vanish'd, and the enamour'd *Vortigern* was put in possession of the charming *Rowena*. This Affair was transacted so privately, that *Gorongus* (f), Prince or Governour of *Kent*, was depos'd before he knew any thing of the Matter.

*Hengist*  
forms new  
Designs.

Whilst the *Britons* were murmuring in vain against these Proceedings, *Hengist*, regardless of their Complaints, was forming Designs of raising himself still higher. But as he knew the *Britons* look'd upon him since his Settlement in their Island, as a profess'd Enemy, he thought fit to conceal his Intentions till he was in a better Condition to put them in Execution. The Posture of *Vortigern's* Affairs gave him hopes he could make that Prince subservient to his Designs, whilst he should think he was acting only for his own Interest. With this View he did all he could to make him believe he was entirely devoted to his Service, to the end he might by degrees induce him to be wholly guided by his Advice. When he found he had gain'd his Confidence to a great Degree, he represented to him, that his Subjects, dissatisfied with his Conduct, were plotting against him, and that it was to be fear'd, whilst the *Saxons* Troops were employ'd in the *Northern* Wars, they wou'd take that opportunity, the only thing they waited for, to execute their ill Designs. That he thought himself oblig'd moreover, to let him know, the *Britons* held Intelligence with *Ambrosius Aurelianus* who was at the Court of *Aldroen* King of *Armorica*, and whom in all probability they design'd to place on the Throne. There was some Foundation for what *Hengist* said concerning  
*Ambro-*

(f) *Cambden* takes *Gorongus* to be the Name of an Office of Employment.

*Ambrosius.* This Prince was descended from *Roman* Ancestors, and according to the common Opinion, Son to one of the *British* Monarchs, elected after the Departure of the *Romans* (g). As he was very young when his Father died; he lay under no suspicions from those that succeeded to the Crown. But when *Vortigern* was elected, a powerful Party declaring in his Favour, he sought all means to destroy the young Prince. Upon which *Ambrosius* retir'd to *Aldroen* his Relation, where he waited for a favourable Juncture to go and head his Party. This being the Case, what the *Saxon* Prince said cou'd not but make a deep impression on the Mind of *Vortigern*, who, despairing of ever regaining the Affections of the People, and looking upon *Ambrosius* as a dangerous Rival, found he had nothing to depend upon, but the Friendship of *Hengist*, to whom therefore he applied for Advice and Assistance. *Hengist*, whose Design was to bring in more *Saxons* in order to be in a condition to cope with the *Britons* and act without *Vortigern*, told him, that All the *Saxons* in *Britain* were at his Devotion, but their Number being so inconsiderable, it was not in their Power to protect him. He added, that, as the *Britons* wou'd not fail of taking the Advantage of the *Saxons* being in the *North*, He saw but one way to free him from Danger, which was, to send over for a greater Number of *Saxon* Troops to be commanded by trusty Leaders, who wou'd blindly follow his Orders. *Vortigern* agreed, without hesitation, to what was so conformable to his own Sentiments. *Hengist* promis'd the new Troops shou'd be sent into the *North* against the *Picts* and *Scots*, whilst he himself wou'd stay in *Kent* to keep the Male-contents in Awe, who by that means wou'd be hemm'd in by the *Saxon* Forces, and so kept from revolting.

*Hengist* having thus obtain'd the King's Permission, sent for a Fleet of 40 Ships, on board of which was a great Number of *Saxon* Forces under the Command of

O

Osta

Osta and  
Ebusa set-  
tle in the  
North.  
452.

(g) Several affirm he was Son to *Constantine*, beheaded by *Honorius*.

*Ambrosius, who he was. Stillingfleet Orig.*

*Osia* his Brother, who brought his Son *Ebusa* along with him. They began with plundering the *Orcades*, then making a Descent on the *Picts*, forc'd them to retire Northwards, and seated themselves in their Country, in such a manner that it was not possible to drive them thence. At first they settled on the *North* side of the *Tine* Eastwards. But in process of Time, they advanc'd towards the South, and drove the *Britons* beyond the *Humber*. With this Reinforcement, *Hengist* had nothing to fear from the *Britons*. He began also to show less Respect to *Vortigern*, and on Pretence he wanted Recruits, sent for continual Supplies from *Germany*, without asking him Leave. At length he pull'd off the Mask, and complaining bitterly that the *Saxon* Soldiers were not paid according to the Agreement, boldly demanded the Arrears, threatening, without speedy Payment, to do himself Justice.

Gildas.  
Bede, l. i.  
c. 15.

453.  
Vortimer  
encourages  
the Britons  
to drive  
out the  
Saxons.

The *Britons* surpris'd at these Menaces, and greatly mortified to see *Hengist* in a condition to do as the proudly threatned, began to rouse themselves, and think of some means to free themselves from these *Strangers*. *Vortimer*, eldest Son to *Vortigern*, had beheld with extreme Regret, how the *Saxons*, by his Father's Fault, strengthen'd themselves daily, and had very much dreaded the Consequences of it. As soon as he saw the *Britons* began to stir, he laid hold of the Opportunity, to represent to the Nobility that it was time to apply an effectual Remedy to the Evils they lay under. He told them, His Father's Cowardise, or perhaps Treachery, had been the Occasion of the *Saxons* becoming so powerful: that it was necessary therefore to prevent *Vortigern* from heaping any more Favours on these Foreigners, to the Prejudice of the *British* Nation, who were in danger of being over-run, if measures were not taken to put a stop to their growing Power. The *Britons*, convinc'd by these Reasons, awak'd at last out of their Lethargy, and by *Vortimer's* Instigation the most powerful of Them having entred into a private Confederacy, of which *Vortigern* had not the least No-

tice,



tice, compell'd him to make his Son Partner with him in the Government, and to leave the Administration of Affairs to his Care. This was done in so sudden a manner, that having not time to call the *Saxons* to his Aid, *Vortigern* found himself in an Instant depriv'd of all Power, and constrain'd to do as they wou'd have him. Thus *Vortimer* was invested with the Royal Authority, leaving his Father only the empty Title of a King (b).

The New Monarch found no great difficulty to perswade the *Britons*, that nothing but Force cou'd drive the *Saxons* out of their Country. It was but too plain from their Proceedings that they did not design to go away voluntarily. The War therefore being resolv'd upon, the *Britons* made Preparations to rid themselves of their Guests, whom they look'd upon as their mortal Enemies. *Hengist* for his Part, finding he was like to have his Hands full, struck up a Peace with the *Picts*, by whose means, in conjunction with the *Saxon* Troops settled in those Parts, he cou'd give the Enemy a powerful Diversion in the North. As for *Kent*, *Hengist* look'd upon himself to be strong enough there to make head against *Vortimer*, who was preparing to attack him.

*The War against the Saxons resolv'd upon.*

Before I enter upon the Relation of a War, which, after numberless Engagements, ended with the Conquest of *Britain* by the *Saxons*, it will be proper to acquaint the Reader that he is not to expect a full and particular Account of Matters. Historians have been contented with relating some certain Facts, which just serve to carry on the Thread of the History, but hardly to give us a general *Idea* of that Revolution, which peopled *Britain* with new Inhabitants, and introduc'd a new Face of things over the whole Island.

The *Britons* and *Saxons* were not long before they came to an Engagement. The two Armies met at

<sup>455.</sup>  
*The Battel of Eglesford.*

O 2

*Egles-*

(b) All Historians agree not in this Point. Some will have it that he voluntarily made his Son Partner with him.

Florentius  
Wigorn:  
Afferius  
Menev.  
Annal.  
Sax. G.  
Malmes.  
I. I. C. I.

*Eglesford* \* in *Kent*, where, it is said, a bloody Battel was fought. *Horfa* \*\* fell that day, as did *Catigern* \*, the youngest Brother of *Vortimer*, by the Hand of *Hengist*. If we may believe the *British* Historians, *Vortimer* not only obtain'd a compleat Victory over the *Saxons*, but that after he had drove *Hengist* as far as the Isle of *Thanet*, compell'd him to ship off for *Germany* to save his life. But by what follow'd after this Battel it is evident, that if the *Saxons* were not victorious, at least they were not vanquish'd, since all their Historians unanimously affirm, that this very Year 455, immediately after the Battle, he began to take upon him the Title of King of *Kent*, which doubtless he wou'd not have done had he been defeated and oblig'd to fly into *Germany*.

457.  
The Battel  
of Crecan-  
ford.

Gildas.  
Bede, I. I.  
Hen.  
Hunting.  
I. 2.

Two years after another Battle was fought near *Cre-canford* (i) in *Kent*, wherein *Vortimer* was entirely defeated with the loss of more than 4000 Men and his best Officers. Not being able to keep the Field, he was forc'd to shut himself up in *London*, till he cou'd get another Army together. In the mean time *Hengist* ravag'd the Country in a merciless Manner, in order to strike the greater Terror into the *Britons*. They that were the most expos'd to the Fury of the *Saxons*, quitted their Houses, and fled to the Woods for refuge. Some abandon'd their Country and retir'd into *Armorica*, where they were civilly receiv'd by *Aldroen*. During these Devastations, the very Churches were not spar'd, but all that were in the Neighbourhood of the *Saxons* were reduc'd to Ashes. These barbarous *Pagans* joining to their natural Fierceness a Religious Zeal, thought they honour'd their Gods, by inhumanly treating the *Christians*, especially the *Ecclesiasticks*, who were the most cruelly dealt with.

\* Now *Aylesford*. \*\* He was buried at *Horsted*, so call'd from him. \*\* He was buried near *Aylesford*, where four great Stones stand an end with others a-cross them like *Stone-henge*.

(i) Now *Creyford*, from the River *Crecan* now *Crece*. See *Camb*.

The Britons reduc'd to this Extremity, their Chiefs assembled themselves to find out some Means to prevent their total Ruin. *Guithelin*, Archbishop of *London*, and Head of *Ambrosius's* Party, advis'd them to apply to the King of *Armorica* for his Assistance. He represented to them, that as *Aldroen* had always shown great Civilities to the Britons, there was room to hope he wou'd not abandon them in their extreme Necessity. He added, that since *Vortigern* and *Vortimer* were no longer to be depended upon, he thought it necessary to invite over *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, who, being sprung from illustrious Ancestors, and having all the Qualifications to be desir'd in a General, wou'd, in all probability, by his Valour and Conduct free them from their present Danger. As they had always hated *Vortigern*, and since his last defeat were dissatisfied with *Vortimer*, the common, tho' unjust Fate of Generals in his Case, they readily came in to the Advice of the Archbishop, and desir'd him to go himself and negotiate the Affair: Which he gladly undertook, as enabling him to bring about a Design he had long been forming. He set out immediately for *Armorica*, and having laid before *Aldroen* the deplorable Condition of the Britons, he obtain'd without any Difficulty an Aid of 10,000 Men, who all landed safely at *Tatnes* with *Ambrosius* at their Head. This General was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy, being look'd upon as the only Support of the sinking Britons. But this Joy was not universal. *Vortimer's* Party, still powerful, consider'd *Ambrosius* as One that was come to usurp the Crown, under a Pretence of defending it. And *Vortimer* himself threatned to punish severely those that shou'd join him. Thus the miserable Britons, always a Prey to their intestine Divisions, instead of uniting against the common Enemy, prepar'd to destroy one another.

*The Britons desire the Assistance of the King of Armorica.*

458.  
*Ambrosius lands with 10,000 Men.*

*Ambrosius* and *Guithelin* seeing this a fit Time for their Purpose, plotted together the Ruin of *Vortigern* and *Vortimer*. They began with representing to their Party,



Party, that the Son was a Prince without Courage or Experience, and the Father an Enemy to the Nation, as appear'd by his strict Friendships with the Enemies of the State, not to mention his excessive Liberalities, which oblig'd his Subjects to take the Administration of Affairs out of his Hands. That in vain therefore were their Preparations to drive out the Foreigners, if they did not first destroy these two Domestick Enemies, who were in Arms only to favour and assist Them. On the other hand, *Vortigern* and *Vortimer* told their Friends, that *Ambrosius* under a pretence of assisting, was come to subdue them: That the Archbishop was an ambitious Man, who sought to put the Crown on the Head of *Ambrosius*, only to get the Administration of the Government in his own hands, than which, by Reason of his Arrogance, nothing shou'd more be dreaded by the *Britons*: That they must shut their Eyes not to see that the Designs of these two Heads of their Party were directly opposite to the Good of the Kingdom: That instead of marching their *fresh* Troops against the *Saxons*, they had done nothing since their Arrival, but plotted how they might oppress those who were in Arms for the Defence of their Country.

Civil Wars  
among the  
Britons.  
458.

The mutual Animosity between the two Parties was so violent, that they soon came to Blows. Their first Battel was near *Catwaloph* in *Carmarthenshire*. As it is difficult from the confus'd Accounts of Historians to know who got the Better, in this and several other Engagements, I shall only observe, that the Civil Wars lasted till the Year 465, to the great weakening of the *Britons*, whilst the *Saxons* daily grew stronger both in *Kent* and beyond the *Humber*. To so wretched a Condition were the *Britons* at last reduc'd, that Numbers of them, harass'd one while by the Civil Wars, another while by the *Saxons*, abandon'd their Native Country. A *Dutch* Writer informs us, that some of those unfortunate Wretches shipp'd themselves off on board of a Galley, and having row'd toward the Mouth of

Joh. Ley-  
den.

of

of the *Rhine*, landed at *Catwick* near *Leyden*, where they settled themselves by the Sea-side in an old Roman Camp, to which they gave the Name of *Britten-burge*.

Thus *Briton* for 7 or 8 years suffer'd all the Calamities of a Civil War. At length the Wifest of both Parties, considering their Disunion wou'd be the Cause of their common Ruin, made up the Breach by parting the Kingdom between the contending Princes. The *British* Kings had the *Eastern*, and *Ambrosius* the *Western* Part, divided from one another by the Roman High-way, call'd, *Watling-street* \*.

465.  
The End of  
the Civil  
Wars.

The *Saxons*, upon the Union of the two Parties, join'd their Forces also. In the first Engagement, *Hengist* lost one of his principal Officers nam'd *Wipped*, from whom the Field of Battel was call'd *Wipped's-fleet*

466.

The War a-  
gainst the  
Saxons be-  
gins again.

(k). The *Saxon* Historians tell us, their Country-men obtain'd that Day a signal Victory. Whereas the *British* Ones affirm, that *Vortimer*, who commanded the Army, routed the *Saxons*, and compell'd *Hengist* a second time to fly into *Germany*. But it appears by what follow'd, that the Advantage was on the side of the *Saxons*. I will even venture to say, contrary to the Opinion of some noted Historians, that in all likelihood, *Hengist* never return'd to *Germany*. Not so much as one Author marks, either the Time or Place, of his Second Landing, tho' they are no less necessary to be observ'd than *Those* of his First.

Hen. Hunt-  
ing. Battel  
of Wip-  
ped's-fleet.  
Nennius  
G. Mon.

In this War the famous *Arthur*, at fourteen years of Age, made his first Appearance in the *British* Armies, under *Ambrosius*. His Inclination to War made him take upon him betimes the Profession of a Soldier,

first ap-  
pears.  
Lang.  
Chron.  
which Reg. Angl.

\* The *Romans*, for the more convenient going from Colony to Colony, had their publick High-ways call'd *Via consulares*, *Prætoria*, *Regia*, &c. but by *Bede* and the Moderns, *Strata* or *Streets*. There were four in *England*. *Watling-Street*, that passes thro' *Verulam* or *St. Albans*, *Ikenild-Street*, thro' the Country of the *Iteni*, *Ermin-Street*, and *Foss-way*. (k) *Wippedi fluentum*. See *Gloster*. *Saxon*. In all probability, *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*. See *Langhorn*. \* *Camden* thinks it was in the Isle of *Thanet*; But that cou'd not be.

which he never quitted during his Life. He succeeded *Gorlois* his Father to the Kingdom of *Danmonium* (l) in 467. He was no sooner on the Throne, but he had a War to carry on against *Howel* King of *Areclute*, in the Neighbourhood of *Scotland*. This Prince is said, out of Envy to the Glory *Arthur* had acquir'd, to enter into an Alliance against him with the *Saxons* in the *North*. But *Arthur*, was so far from losing his Reputation that he very much increas'd it, by driving him to the Isle of *Mona*, where, giving him Battel, he slew him with his own Hand. He was then about 18 years old. We shall find him hereafter signalizing himself by Actions more Glorious, as well as more Beneficial to his Country.

470.  
Prisceus  
Hist. Brit.  
Def.

473.  
The fourth  
Battel be-  
tween the  
Saxons and  
Britons.  
Flor. Wi-  
gorn.  
Vortimer  
dies.

The War continuing between the two Nations, a Battel the *Britons* lost in 473, put their Affairs in extreme disorder, and gave the *Saxon* Prince the Opportunity of encreasing in Power more and more. At length *Vortimer*, the principal Promoter of the War, died in 475, poison'd, as some say, by *Rowena* his Mother-in-law, through the Suggestion of *Hengist*. The *British* Historians would fain make, at any rate, a Hero of *Vortimer*, by attributing to him many signal Victories over the *Saxons*. But their growing so powerful, notwithstanding their pretended Defeats, is a clear Evidence, that the Advantages *Vortimer* gain'd over them, were neither considerable nor real. His Death brought some Quiet to *Britain*, if a deceitful Calm, that prov'd the Ruin of the *Britons*, may be so call'd.

Treaty of  
Peace be-  
tween the  
Saxons and  
Britons.

After a Twenty Years War, both Sides began to show an Inclination for Peace, which *Vortimer* had always strenuously opposed, fearing least when the War was over with the *Saxons*, he should be oblig'd to begin a new one with *Ambrosius*, who had gain'd the Hearts of the People, and could hardly bear to see *Vortigern* and his Son on the Throne, though depriv'd of half their Dominions. The Peace was concluded on condition each Party shou'd

(l) *Cornwal* and \* *Devon*. There were several petty Kings dependant on the Chief Monarch.



shou'd keep what they had got. *Hengist*, who had entertain'd Hopes of conquering all *Britain*, was not a little concern'd to find himself so much disappointed. He comforted himself however with the Thoughts of doing that by *Cunning*, which he cou'd not do by *Force*.

When one reflects on the Weakness and Dispirited-<sup>Reflections</sup>ness of the *Britons* before the Arrival of *Hengist*, one<sup>on the Re-</sup> can't but be surpris'd at their being able to stand against<sup>sistance of</sup> the *Saxons* in the first War, which lasted so long. Those<sup>the Britons</sup> very *Britons*, who, after the departure of the *Romans*, dar'd not to look the *Picts* and *Scots* in the Face, successfully defended themselves against both *Saxons* and *Picts*. A long War teaches at length the most unwarlike Nation the Use of their Arms, and very frequently puts them in a condition to repair in the End the Losses they sustain'd in the Beginning. Had the *Saxons* invaded *Britain* at first with a numerous Army, in all appearance they wou'd have conquer'd the whole in a very little time. But sending over only a small Number of Forces at a time, they spun the War out to a great Length, and by that Means taught the *Britons* a Trade, which the *Romans* had done all they cou'd to make them forget. It may be said perhaps, that whilst they defended themselves in the *South*, they lost ground in the *North*. But it must be consider'd, the Country beyond the *Humber* was gone from them before the Coming of *Hengist*, and that the *Saxons* took it from the *Picts* and *Scots* and not from the *Britons*. We are ignorant of what *Oeta* and *Ebusa* did during this long War. It is to be suppos'd, they assisted *Hengist* by giving the *Britons* frequent Diversions, and by sending him Supplies by *Sea*, which they cou'd not do by *Land*, because of marching thro' the Enemy's Country.

*Hengist*, after all his Hopes of becoming Master of *Hengist* *Britain*, saw himself with extreme Regret reduc'd to<sup>barbarous-</sup> the Kingdom of *Kent*. He had acquainted the *Saxon*<sup>ly murders</sup> Princes in *Germany*, that provided they sent him Sup-<sup>300 Bri-</sup> plies,<sup>tons.</sup>

plies, he cou'd easily procure for them a *solid* Settlement in the Island. Notwithstanding, after a 20 years War he found there was but little appearance of his being as good as his Word. The falling off of *Vortigern*, and the Valour of *Ambrosius*, join'd to a Conduct which equall'd him to the most famous Generals, seem'd to lay invincible Obstacles in his Way. However he was resolv'd not to drop his Design, but to endeavour to do that by Fraud which he cou'd not accomplish by Force. To this End, he contriv'd a Plot, that, by its Blackness, tarnish'd the Glory of all his former Actions. As soon as the Peace was concluded, he pretended to be mighty well pleas'd with it, and behav'd himself in such a manner as shou'd he had no Design of enlarging his Conquests. The *Britons*, charm'd with this seeming Moderation of his, were easily comforted for the Loss of *Kent*, imagining they knew the worst, and perhaps, hoping they might one day meet with a favorable Juncture to get possession of it again. In the mean time, not to provoke a Prince whose Valour they had so often experienc'd, they liv'd in an amicable manner with him. In fine, their Animosity against the *Saxons* by degrees entirely vanish'd. *Hengist* omitted nothing to keep them in a Security, which wou'd draw them into the Snare he was preparing for them. He let them know, his Intent being to live in perfect Union with them, he shou'd be glad from time to time to keep up the good Understanding between the two Nations by mutual Interviews for Pleasure. *Vortigern*, a passionate Lover of such Diversions, joyfully accepted his Proposal, and went so far as to pay him the first Visit, accompanied with 300 of his principal Subjects. *Hengist* receiv'd them seemingly in a very respectful and cordial Manner. His Entertainment was splendid, and nothing was wanting that might divert them. But towards the End of the Feast, the Scene was chang'd. *Hengist* had order'd Matters so, that, having artfully rais'd some Subject of Dispute, at a certain Signal given, the *British* Lords

G. Mal-  
mesb.

Lords were all murder'd (n) \*. *Vortigern*, because *Hengist* had need of him, was only made a Prisoner. In vain did he complain of this base Treachery, he cou'd not obtain his Liberty without delivering up to the *Saxons* a great Part of his Dominions bordering upon *Kent*, which they, dividing into three *Counties*, gave them the names of *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, which they retain to this day. Not content with this, *Hengist* ravag'd the neighboring Country in a merciless manner, and got possession of *London*, *Lincoln* and *Winchester*.

The Indignation of the *Britons* at this barbarous Action was so great, that they cou'd not look upon a *Saxon* without Horror. *Vortigern*, as he had given his Subjects more than once Cause to think him a Friend to the *Saxons*, was reckon'd as an Accomplice in the Massacre, since he alone was spar'd. And therefore they all deserted him and went over to *Ambrosius* (o), except a few Friends, who cou'd be of little Service to him in his sinking Condition.

*Ambrosius*, as soon as he saw himself sole Monarch of the *Britons*, assum'd the Imperial Purple, after the manner of the *Roman* Emperors, creating at the same time

*Ambrosius assumes the Title of Emperor.*

P 2

(n) The signal was *Neamt uve Seaxen* (i. e.) Pull out your Daggers. *Stillingfleet* doubts the Truth of this Fact, because *Winthind* relates one like it that happen'd in *Germany*. But it might be repeated in *Britain*.

\* *Ambrosius* is said to have built *Stone-henge* near *Salisbury* in memory of this Massacre. As it has been justly wonder'd at how Stones of 20 or 30 Tuns cou'd be rais'd so high as they are, it won't be amiss to give the Reader Mr. *Rowland's Hypothesis* in his *Mona Antiqua*. Small Mounts were thrown up with sloping Sides and level at the Top. Up these Sides with great Leavers and Pullies by little and little they roll'd and heav'd up the Stones they design'd to erect; then laying them along on the Top of the Hillock, they dug Holes in the Earth at the End of the Stones as deep as the Stones were long, into which they let them slip strait on end with their Tops level with the Tops of the Mount, then placing other Stones upon these, and taking away the Earth almost to the bottom of the Supporters, there appear'd what we call *Stone-henge*, *Rollrick* or *Cromleck*. (o) *Baronius* confounds *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, with another *Aurelian*.



time Prince *Arthur*, who had signaliz'd himself in the War by many brave Actions, a *Patrician* (p). Cou'd *Britain* have been prevented from becoming a Prey to the *Saxons*, it wou'd doubtless have been so by these two great Princes, who had all the Qualities of the most celebrated Heroes in an eminent Degree. But its Fate was determin'd. All they cou'd do was to put off its Ruin for some time.

Hengist  
invites  
over more  
Saxons.

477.  
Ella ar-  
rives in  
Britain.  
Fab. Æthe-  
lus.  
Flor. Wi-  
gorn.  
H. Hunt-  
ingdon.  
l. 2.

In the mean while, *Hengist* was not a little perplex to see his Country quite dispeopled; for the Inhabitants refusing to live under a Prince that had given such evident Proofs of his Treachery and Cruelty, retir'd in Crouds into the other Provinces; so that his new Dominions were of no Use to him, there not being Hands enough left to cultivate the Lands. Upon this he resolv'd to send for *Ella*, a *Saxon* General, from *Germany*, promising him Part of the Territories *Vortigern* had granted him. *Ella*, glad of the News, soon arriv'd in *Britain*, with his Sons *Baldulphus*, *Colgrin*, and *Cissa* an Infant. He landed his Troops at *Whitering* in *Sussex*, but not without opposition. The Inhabitants of the Country disputing his Landing, he became not Master of the Shore till after a long Battel. At length he drove the *Britons* as far as the Forest of *Andred's-Wall* \*, at that time 65 Miles in Length, and 30 in Breadth. The retreat of the *Britons* gave the *Saxons* an opportunity of settling themselves by degrees along the Coast and towards the *Thames*. During the nine years they were employ'd in enlarging their Conquests in those Parts, they had continual Wars with the *Britons*, the Particulars whereof are not known. We are only told that the *Saxons*, settled along the southern Coast, were call'd *Sud* or *South Sax-*  
ons,

(p) P. *Arthur* must have been created a *Patrician* by *Ambrosius*, since there was then no other Emperor in the *West*. *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli*, reigning then in *Italy*, had never any pretensions to *Britain*.

\* *Andredswald*, as *Cambden* says, was 120 Miles long. It is now call'd *Weild* or *Wild*.

ons, and their Country, *Suffex*. *Hengist* took care to *Suffex*.  
strengthen himself, in the best manner he cou'd, in the  
rest of the Country that had been given him, and  
establish'd Colonies of his own Countrymen. Those  
that were seated to the *East* were called *East-Saxons*,  
and their Country, *Essex*. The Country between *Es-* *Essex*.  
*sex* and *Suffex*, was term'd *Middlesex*. As for *Kent*, *Middlesex*.  
it retain'd its antient Name, the only one perhaps the  
*Saxons* did not alter.

*Hengist* having thus settled Matters, gave leave to  
those Soldiers, that had a mind to it, to return into  
*Germany*. At their Arrival on the Continent, they  
built the Castle of *Leyden*, the founding of which is  
attributed to *Hengist* himself, by a Dutch Poet, as well *Jo. Doufa*.  
as by several others, who were of Opinion that he went  
back into *Germany*.

The *Britons* were not in a condition then to think *Nine years*  
of recovering the Provinces usurp'd by the *Saxons*. *Rest from*  
Harra's'd by almost continual Wars for 60 Years to- *War*.  
gether, it was time to breathe a while. However they  
were vex'd at the heart to see the *Saxons* so firmly set-  
tled in the Country, and in a capacity of growing  
stronger and stronger, by the opportunity they had of  
sending, when ever they pleas'd, for fresh Supplies  
from *Germany*. But they were fain to sit down pa-  
tiently, till their almost quite exhausted Forces shou'd  
be repair'd. Accordingly, without any previous Truce  
or Treaty of Peace, both Sides lay still for 9 Years.  
*Hengist*, no less than the *Britons*, had need of some  
Respite, to put the Affairs of his Kingdom in Order.  
During this Interval *Ella* gain'd Ground, the *Britons*  
not daring to oppose him, for fear of giving *Hengist*  
a Handle to renew the War, which it was their design  
to avoid.

The *Britons* having had time to recover their strength, *The Bri-*  
sollicite *Ambrosius* to take up Arms. They repre- *tons solli-*  
sented to him, that the longer the *Saxons* were left *cite Am-*  
in quiet, the stronger they grew: that since the War *brosius to*  
ceas'd, *Britain* abounded with young Soldiers, fit *take up*  
to *Arms*.

485.  
The Death  
of Vortigern.

to fight for their Country; that if this Opportunity therefore was let slip, they might perhaps expect another in vain. *Ambrosius* told them, he was convinc'd, as well as they, how necessary it was to exert their utmost in order to expel the Foreigners; but that there was no hopes of succeeding as long as *Vortigern* was living: That altho' he was Old, and in appearance incapable of acting, yet he had a powerful Party, that wou'd not fail of raising new Disturbances as soon as the War shou'd break out: That they had found by fatal Experience, ever since the Arrival of the *Saxons*, he had always sided with them. In fine, he put them in mind that all their Losses were owing to their Dissensions, which being still on Foot, it was to no purpose to hope for any better success. He concluded with telling them they had but one of these two Ways to take, either to let the *Saxons* remain in Quiet till *Vortigern's* Death, or to rid themselves of that Domestick Enemy, to the end they might unite their Forces against the Foreigners. Such was the Hatred of the generality of the *Britons* against *Vortigern*, that they resolv'd immediately upon the Latter. And so with one Consent, prepar'd to put their Resolution in Practice, with all possible Secrecy and Expedition. *Vortigern* not dreaming any thing of the Matter, was like to have fallen into the Hands of *Ambrosius*. He had but just time to throw himself into a Castle in *Wales*, where he was not very secure. *Ambrosius*, willing to go thorough with his work, went and besieg'd him, being resolv'd not to let him escape. During the Siege, the Castle, whether by Accident or by the Engines of the Besiegers, taking Fire, was burnt to Ashes, and the unfortunate *Vortigern* perish'd in the Flames. This was the End of that Prince, advanc'd to a great Age, after a troublesome Reign of 40 Years. He had 3 Sons by his first Wife, *Vortimer*, *Catigern*, and *Pascentius*, of whom I shall speak hereafter. By his Daughter, whom he debauch'd, he had a Son nam'd *Faustus*, who pass'd his



his Life in a Monastery, where he was distinguish'd for his Piety.

*Ambrosius* having got rid of his powerful and hated Rival, renewed the War against the *Saxons*; of which we know but few Particulars. The most remarkable Event, was the signal Victory *Ambrosius* obtain'd over *Ella* and his two eldest Sons; This was the first the *Britons* cou'd truly boast of, notwithstanding all their Historians say to the contrary. The *Saxon* General was forc'd to shut himself up in his strong Holds, whilst fresh Supplies were sent for from *Germany*.

*Ambrosius* renews the War, beats *Ella* in 487.

*Hengist* lived not to see the End of this War. He died in 488, aged about 69, of which he had pass'd 39 in *Britain*, and 33 on the Throne of *Kent* (a). He can't be denied the Glory of being the bravest and most prudent General of his time. It were to be wish'd for the *English*, that the Founder of their Monarchy had not, as I may say, cemented his Throne with the Blood of so many *British* Lords, whom he murder'd in a base and treacherous Manner. An Action that will leave an indelieable Stain on his Memory. Had it not been for this, his Reputation wou'd have been uncommon, since by his Conduct and Valour he happily accomplish'd a Design, the Execution whereof was extremely difficult. Besides *Kent*, *Essex* and *Middlesex*, he was in possession of some Lands in *Lincolnshire*, where he built *Thong-Castor*. The *Saxons* beyond the *Humber* acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign. He left two Sons, *Escus* who succeeded him, and *Andoacer* who stay'd in *Germany*.

*Hengist* dies. 488.  
Nennius.  
Flor. Wigorn.  
W. Malmesb.  
H. Hunting.  
Ran. Cetreus.

After the Defeat of *Ella*, about a year before *Hengist* died, *Escus* had been sent into the *North*, to assist *Octa* and *Ebusa* against the *Britons*. But as soon as he had notice of his Father's Death, he hasten'd to *Kent* to take Possession of the Kingdom. In the mean time *Ambrosius* improving his Victory retook *London*, *Winchester*

*Escus*,  
King of  
*Kent*.

(a) Some *British* or *Welch* Writers tell us *Hengist* was taken Prisoner and beheaded by the *Britons*. But the *Saxons* unanimously assure us he died a natural Death.

*chester and Lincoln.* *Escus*, having not the Qualities of his Father, never endeavour'd to recover these three Places, but prefer'd his Ease before the Fatigues of War. In all probability he obtain'd a Truce, since in the three following Years, there is no Mention of any Hostilities on either Side.

490.  
Arthur  
goes to Je-  
rusalem.  
Nennius.  
H. Hunt-  
ing. l. 2.

During this Calm, *Arthur*, finding his Presence was not necessary in his own Country, made a Voyage to *Jerusalem*. *Ambrosius*, in the mean while, by the Assistance of *Samson*, whom he had sent for from *Armorica* and made Archbishop of *York*, regulated the Affairs of the Church, that were in extreme Disorder by reason of the Wars.

491.  
Ella be-  
sieves An-  
dred-Ces-  
ter.  
H. Hunt-  
ing. l. 2.

The *Northumberland-Saxons* beginning to stir again in 491, *Arthur* who was return'd from his Voyage, march'd against and defeated them. At the same time *Ella*, having receiv'd a powerful Reinforcement from *Germany*, went and besieg'd *Andred-Cester* (r), situated in the Forest of *Andred's-Wald*. The Resistance of the Besieged, and an Army of the Enemy posted on an advantageous Ground, made him lose a great deal of time. But at length the Town was carried by Storm and entirely destroy'd. Immediately after this, *Ella* assum'd the Title of King of *Sussex* or of the *South-Saxons*, which he durst not do while *Hengist* was alive. This Second Saxon Kingdom contain'd the Counties of *Sussex* and *Surrey*. *Ella* was also elected Monarch or General of the *Saxons* in the Room of *Hengist*. For it must be observ'd, that altho' *Hengist* was only King of *Kent*, yet was he consider'd also as Head of all the *Saxons*, according to the Custom of that Nation in *Germany*, where, in time of War, they had always their Captain-General, accountable only to the Convention of the States. This same Custom the *Saxons* continued in *Britain*, and always elected a General, whom some Writers stile, *Monarch*, because, as we shall see hereafter, he was Head over several King's.

He takes  
the Title of  
King of  
Sussex.

Is elected  
Monarch.

(r) In Latin, *Anderida*. In the Reign *Edw. I.* a little Town call'd *Newenden* was built in the same place.

In all appearance, *Hengist's* Son thought himself not in a condition to discharge this High Office, since he suffer'd *Ella* to be chosen to it.

About two years after, *Arthur* defeated again the *Northumbrians*, on the Banks of the River *Douglas* (*s*), where he had routed them three years before.

The year 495 was very remarkable for the Arrival of *Cerdick*, a *Saxon* General, not only upon account of his Conquests, but chiefly because from Him the Kings of *England* were descended, in the *Male* Line, down to *Edward the Confessor*, and in the *Female*, down to the *Illustrious* Prince, who now sits on the Throne. If we trace him back, we find, by the *Saxon* Annals, that he sprung from *Woden*, the Root of all the Principal Families of the *Saxons*. He was famous also for founding a Kingdom to which all the Rest in the End became Subject, and consequently, he is to be look'd upon, if not the first, at least one of the principal Founders of the *English* Monarchy. This Warlike Prince, having acquir'd great Reputation in *Germany*, and finding there was nothing more to do, resolv'd to seek his Fortune in *Britain*, where he knew many of his own Nation had already establish'd themselves. With this View he equip'd five Vessels, and taking his Son *Kenrick* advanc'd to Man's Estate with him, he set sail for *Britain*.

*Osta*, who commanded the *Saxons* in the *North*, having been defeated several times by *Arthur*, and finding he cou'd not keep all his Conquests, had divided them into two Parts, the *South* Part was call'd *Deira*, and the *North*, *Bernicia*. He had committed the Care of the First to *Baldulphus* and *Colgrin* (*t*), the Sons of *Ella*, reserving *Bernicia* to himself in order to defend it against the continual Attacks of the *Northern* Nations. *Colgrin*, after the last Defeat of the *Northumbrians* by *Arthur*, had shut himself up in *York*, where *Arthur*

Q

immedi-

494.

495.

*Cerdick*  
arrives in  
Britain.  
Flor. Wi-  
gorn.  
Poly-  
chron. l. 5.  
c. 4.  
G. Mal-  
mesb.

*Northum-  
berland di-  
vided into  
Bernicia  
and Deira.*

(*s*) In *Lancashire*.

(*t*) So called by *British* Writers, but by the *English* ones, *Cymen* and *Pleting*, from whom *Cymen'shore* in *Sussex*.



immediately went and besieg'd him. Notwithstanding this, *Baldulphus* having been inform'd of *Cerdick's* Design of coming to *Britain*, was gone into *Norfolk* to wait for his Arrival in order to assist him in his Landing. But *Cerdick's* Coming being delay'd by some Accident, *Baldulphus* march'd back again towards *York*, to endeavour to relieve it. He was met upon the Way by *Cador* Nephew to *Arthur*, who defeated him and so dispers'd his Army that he was fain to disguise himself like a Peasant in order to save his Life. In which Dress he got safe under the Walls of *York*, and making himself known, was drawn up with a Rope. The News he brought of *Cerdick's* being about to arrive from *Germany* with powerful Supplies, putting new Life into the Besieg'd, they continued to make a vigorous Defence. *Arthur* push'd the Siege on briskly, hoping to take the Town before the Arrival of the *Saxon* Prince. All this while, *Cador* was in *Norfolk*, in a readiness to oppose the Landing of the *Saxons*. But before *Arthur* had made any considerable Progress in the Siege, he receiv'd the ill News of *Cerdick's* Landing at *Yarmouth*, and of his having beaten the Forces sent against him. Upon which he raises the Siege and retires into a Place of Security, till he could learn exactly the Number of the *Saxons*, which Fame had exceedingly magnified. *Baldulph* and *Colgris* marching out of *York*, committed great Devastations in *Lancashire*, whilst the *Britons* were dismay'd and terrified at the Arrival of *Cerdick*. So great was their Fright, that *Arthur* thought fit to keep off from the *Saxons* for some time, for fear he shou'd not be able to inspire his Troops with Resolution enough to look these formidable Enemies in the Face. But this was not All that followed upon the Arrival of *Cerdick*.

*Cerdick*  
arrives and  
defeats *Cador*.

496.  
*Pascentius*  
revolts.

*Pascentius*, Son to *Vortigern*, having long conceal'd his secret Disgust at not having any of his Father's Dominions allotted him, laid hold of this Juncture to obtain what he thought his Due. By the Assistance of those of his Party he got some Forces together, and

and having join'd *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, he was reinforced by a great many of his Friends in *Wales*. *Ambrosius* being grown sick and very old, *Arthur* took upon him to chastise the Rebel, and marching against him, gave him Battel, and entirely routed him near the little River *Douglas*. But is defeated by Arthur.

The next year, *Arthur* in the same Place gained another Victory, and so warmly pursued the *British* Prince, that he forced him to submit and sue for Pardon. *Pascentius* got more by his Submission, than he had done by his Arms. For besides his being pardon'd, he was put in possession of *Brecknock* and *Radnor* (u) in *Wales*, the which being erected into a Kingdom, his Posterity enjoyed it for many Years. I take these Lands, *Ambrosius* gave this Prince, to be no other than *Vortigern's* private Estate in those Parts, before he was King. If he invested him with Sovereignty, it was only to give him some Satisfaction concerning his Pretensions to the Crown of *Britain*. 497. He is beaten again and pardoned. Nennius.

About this time the *Saxons* in the *North* conquered the little Kingdom of *Galway* (w) from *Galvan* the Nephew of *Arthur*. This Country, now part of *Scotland*, had remained in the Hands of the *Britons* and withstood the continual Attacks, as well of the *Saxons* as *Picts*. *Galvan* retired to his Uncle *Arthur*, to whom he was very serviceable in his Wars. Galway conquered by the Saxons.

A little after this, *Porta* landed at *Portland* \*, so called from him, with a new Reinforcement of *Saxons* from *Germany*. This, at a time the *Saxons* began to be Superior, obliged *Arthur* to retire to *London*. Tho' he had generally the Better of the *Saxons* in all their Encounters, yet his Troops were considerably diminished; whereas the Enemy's Forces were continually increasing by fresh Supplies from *Germany*. Whole Bodies, under the Conduct of famous Leaders came over to *Britain*, with a design to procure a Settlement, 501. The arrival of Porta. H. Hunting. Camden. Annal. Sax Flor. Wigorn.

Q 2

or

(u) In *British*, *Bwelt*, and *Wortigern Maur*.

(w) In *Latin*, *Gollovidia*. *G. Malm.* calls it *Walvitha* and *Walverthia*.

\* Others say at *Portsmouth*.

Argentie  
Hist. de  
Bret. Ch.  
33.

G. Mal-  
mesb.  
Nennius.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 2.  
Polychr. l.  
5. c. 6.  
Gal. Mo-  
nam. c. 2.

H. Hunt.  
l. 2.  
Polychr. l.  
5. c. 6.

Great Pre-  
parations  
on the side  
of the Sax-  
ons,

or for the sake of Plunder only. *Arthur*, who had not the same Recruits, wou'd have been reduc'd to Extremity, had it not been for the Assistance of *Hoel* King of *Armorica* his Nephew. This young Prince, greedy of Glory, and glad of an Opportunity of signalizing himself in the Service of his Uncle, put himself at the Head of 15000 Men, and landed at *Southampton*. Thus reinforc'd, *Arthur* went and attack'd the *Northumbrians*, grown formidable by the Valour of *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, and obtain'd a compleat Victory over them. The two *Saxons* Brothers, not being in a condition to stand before him, after their Defeat, had no other Course to take, but with the Remains of their Army, to join *Cerdick* then laying Siege to *Lincoln*. But *Arthur*, fearing the Loss of that Place, follow'd them, with all speed, and surpris'd *Cerdick*, in so sudden a Manner, that not being able to continue the Siege, or break it up, without Danger, he was constrain'd to hazard a Battle, which prov'd fatal to the *Saxons*. *Cerdick* was forc'd to betake himself to the Forest of *Celidon*, where having suffered great Hardships, he at length found the means, tho' with great difficulty, to retire towards the *Western* Coasts. Some Historians assure us, that seeing he must inevitably perish, if he staid in a Place where he cou'd neither have Provisions, nor hope for Assistance, oblig'd himself, by a Treaty with *Arthur*, to return into *Germany* with the Remains of his Troops. They add, that being embark'd with a design to do as he had promis'd, he chang'd his Mind at Sea, and came and landed at *Toston*, in the *West*. Be this as it will, it is certain *Cerdick* remain'd in the Island, and lay quiet for some time, having lost in the Battle above 6000 Men.

After *Cerdick's* Defeat, the *Saxons*, out of a dread of *Arthur*, who, like an able General, knew how to make the Best of his Victories, came to a Resolution of uniting all their Forces, in order to stop the Progress of his Arms. They were sensible that by dividing their Troops they run the risk of losing in one Place,

what



what they got in another, which was never the way to procure a lasting Settlement. Accordingly, *Escus* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of *Sussex*, *Cerdick*, *Porta*, the Northern Saxons, join'd all their Forces, and made *Cerdick* General of the whole Army. The Infirmities and Old Age of *Ella*, who had been Monarch ever since 492, were no doubt the reason he had not the Command at that time. *Cerdick* having divided his Troops into two Bodies, gave the Command of the Least to *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, and headed the other himself with his Son *Kenrick*. In the mean while the Britons were doing their utmost to raise an Army capable of withstanding so powerful Enemies. At a time they had need of all their Forces, all that cou'd bear Arms, came in Crouds and list'd themselves under their Generals. So that it was thought on both Sides, they shou'd soon come to a Battle that wou'd decide the Fate of both Nations. *Ambrosius*, call'd here by Historians, *Nazareth*, tho' very old, cou'd not see all these Preparations, without having his Courage rous'd, which Age had seem'd to have lain asleep. He put himself at the Head of his Army, and after he had detach'd *Arthur* to follow *Baldulph* and *Colgrin*, who were marching towards the West, he resolv'd to go in quest of *Cerdick*. *Arthur*, every where victorious, coming to an Engagement with the Saxon Brothers in *Cornwal*, obtain'd a signal Victory over them.

and Britons.

Nennius  
H. Hunt.

In the mean time, *Ambrosius* advanc'd towards *Cerdick*, who had no thoughts of retreating from him. The two Armies being engag'd, *Ambrosius* broke thro' the right Wing of the Saxons, commanded by *Cerdick*, and put them to Rout. But whilst he was eagerly pursuing his Victory against a Body that made but a faint Resistance, *Kenrick*, having had the same advantage over the right Wing of the Britons, instead of pursuing them, fell upon *Ambrosius* in the Flank, and by that wise Conduct gave *Cerdick* time to rally his Troops and compleat the Victory by an entire Defeat of the Britons.

508.

The Britons are defeated, and Ambrosius slain.

H. Hunt.  
l. 2.

*Ambro-*

*Ambrosius*, vex'd to see the Victory snatch'd out of his hands, did all he cou'd to renew the Fight. In Spite of his Age and Infirmities, he threw himself amongst his Enemies, in order to animate his Troops by his Example. But all his Efforts, serv'd only to crown his glorious Life with an honorable Death. The Success of that Day was, by the Publick Acknowledgment of his Father, attributed to *Kenrick*. This Battel was fought in 508, near a Place, call'd by the Saxons, *Cerdick's-Ford* \*.

\* Chardford in Hampshire. Nazaleod and *Ambrosius* the same Person. Camden. H. Hunt.

The Name of *Nazaleod*, given by Historians to the *British* Monarch, slain in this Battle, has made some imagine, it was not *Ambrosius*. But the Opinion of *Camden*, and several other good Writers, who assert the contrary, is doubtless to be preferr'd. All the Historians agree that *Ambrosius* fell in Battle. Now after the Beginning of this Prince's Reign, there was no other Battel, except this, wherein a *British* Monarch was slain. Besides, Historians wou'd not have omitted to mark the time of the Death of so famous a Prince, had it happen'd in some other Action.

Arthur elected Monarch.

Uther. de Prim. G. Mon.

Uther. Stillfleet. Langhorn

*Arthur* was elected Monarch in the Room of *Ambrosius*. He was no doubt the fittest Person to command the Army, his very Name being terrible to the Saxons. Between *Ambrosius* and *Arthur*, some Writers place *Uther Pendragon*, who, they affirm, was *Arthur*'s eldest Brother, and both of them Sons to *Ambrosius*. Others will have it that *Arthur* was the Son and Successor of *Uther*. But they that are the most vers'd in the *English* History, maintain that *Uther* was only a Sirname given to the Great *Arthur*, upon the Account of his Victories, the word being capable of that Sense in the old *British* Language, and that he was call'd *Pendragon* from his wearing a *Dragon* for his Crest.

*Arthur*, after his Coronation at *Caerleon*, march'd against the *Northumbrian-Saxons*, and defeated them on the Banks of the little River *Ribroyt* that runs thro' *Lancashire*. This is reckon'd his Tenth Victory over the Saxons. In the mean time *Baldulph*, and *Colgrin*,

invade

invading the *Western* Parts, made such Devastations, that he was oblig'd to leave *Northumberland* in order to go and put a stop to them. He left *Hoel* his Nephew in *Bernicia*, to keep the *Saxons* in Play there, who, tho' often beaten, were still formidable. The *Saxon* Brothers being compell'd by *Arthur* to come to an Engagement, were routed near *Cadbury* \* in *Cornwall*. Camden.

In the *Interim*, *Cerdick* having been reinforc'd with fresh Supplies from the *Saxon* Princes in *Britain*, as well as from *Germany*, laid Siege to *Bath*. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* having join'd him also with what Troops they cou'd muster together, his Army was so strong, he wish'd the *Britons* wou'd attempt to raise the Siege. He had his Desire. *Arthur*, resolving to hazard All to save that Place, came and gave him Battle, which prov'd the bloodiest that had ever been fought between the two Nations. It lasted from Noon to Night, without any visible Advantage to either Side. Both Armies kept the Field, waiting for the Day to renew the Fight. The *Saxons* during the night, posted themselves on a little Hill, call'd *Bannesdown*, which both Sides had neglected to do the day before, tho' of great Importance to them. As soon as it was light, *Arthur*, seeing how Matters stood, was resolv'd to dislodge them from their advantageous Post, which he effected after a long and obstinate Fight. The *Britons*, animated by the Presence and Valour of their King, and perceiving the *Saxons*, in retreating down the Hill, had put themselves in some Disorder, press'd upon them still more vigorously, and routed them entirely. They gain'd a most compleat Victory. *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* were both slain, and *Cerdick*, with the Remains of his Army, retir'd to a Place, where he was out of danger of being attack'd. The Battle of Badon-Hill. Bede. Langhorn.

An unforeseen Event prevented *Arthur* from improving his Victory. The *Picts*, who were in Alliance with the *Saxons*, finding *Arthur* was at a great Distance, and knowing *Hoel* lay sick at *Areclute*, resolv'd to make a Diversion in the North. G. Mon. l. 7. to H. Hunt. l. 2.

\* *Cadbury* is in *Somersetshire*, near *Yeovil*.



to besiege that Town, in hopes of taking it before it cou'd be reliev'd. But *Arthur* was too quick for them. He flew to the Assistance of the King of *Armorica*, and compell'd the *Picts* to raise the Siege. The *British* Monarch was so enrag'd against the *Picts* for this Diversion, which came so opportunely for the *Saxons*, that he ravag'd their Country from one End to t'other; and wou'd have entirely destroy'd it, had not the Bishops by their Intercession diverted him from his Purpose.

Gal. Mon.  
l. 7.

Arthur's  
Wife dies,  
\* in Scot-  
land.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1.  
Fl. Vi-  
gorn.

Hect. Bo-  
eth.

Gal. Mo-  
nu. l. 7.

During this Expedition, died *Gueniver* the Wife of *Arthur*, who was buried in the County of *Angus* \*. As she had no Children, the Women of the Country fancied, All, that walk'd over her Grave, wou'd like her be barren. For which reason great care was taken to hinder the young Damsels from coming near it. *Hoel* after this return'd to his own Country, the Victory of *Badon* having secur'd *Arthur*, for some time, from any Attempts of the *Saxons*. *Arthur*, when he came back from the *Picts*, made some stay at *York*, in order to regulate the Affairs of the Church, which were put in great Confusion by the *Saxons* who had abandon'd that City since their Defeat.

512.  
Otha King  
of Kent.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1.

514.  
The Death  
of Ella.  
M. West.  
de l. 2.  
Hunt.

*Escus* King of *Kent* died in 512, memorable for Nothing but for having all the Kings of *Kent* call'd from him *Escingians*. He was succeeded by his Son *Otha*.

Two years after died *Ella*, King of *Sussex* and Monarch of the *Saxons*, having enlarg'd his narrow Territories at the Expence of the *Britons*, during a Reign of 23 years. His two eldest Sons having been slain at *Badon*, *Cissa* the youngest succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Sussex*: but the Monarchy of the *Saxons* was conferr'd on *Cerdick*.

514.

*Cerdick*, ever since his Defeat, lay still in his own Country, expecting a Reinforcement from *Germany*, which arriv'd in 514 under the Conduct of *Stuff* and *Withgar* his Nephews. Upon this, he took the Field again, and committed great Devastations in the Country of the *Britons*. *Arthur*, tho' weaken'd by his

own

own Victories, not having fresh Supplies like the *Saxons*, made however powerful struggles to oppose the Progress of this formidable Enemy. The many and bloody Battles between the two Nations did not decide the Quarrel, seeing Victory was sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. But at length in 519 *Cerdick* defeated the *Britons*, in such a Manner as made them despair of ever driving out the *Saxons*. Upon which *Arthur* thought it his best Way to strike up a Peace with *Cerdick*, by granting him a Part, rather than run the Risk of losing the Whole, of his Dominions. Accordingly he surrendered to *Cerdick* *Hampshire* and *Somersetshire*, with which the *Saxon* Prince was well pleas'd, being desirous after so long a War, of enjoying some Repose in his declining Age. As soon as he was in Possession of his new Territories he founded the Kingdom of *Wessex*, or of the *West-Saxons*, because it lay West of *Kent* and *Sussex*. He was crown'd at *Winchester*, 23 Years after his Arrival in *Britain* (a). Thus by his Valour and Perseverance, he procur'd himself a Settlement in the Island, as well as his Countrymen *Hengist* and *Ella*.

519.  
*Cerdick*  
gains a  
great Vic-  
tory.

*Cerdick*  
crown'd  
King of  
*Wessex*.

*Arthur* took this Opportunity to rebuild some of the Churches, that had been destroy'd by the preceding Wars, and to repair, as far as lay in his Power, the Damages Religion had hitherto sustain'd.

Chron.  
*Rudborn*.  
l. 2.

From the Time *Hengist* had peopled *Essex* and *Mid-dlesex* with *Saxons* and *Jutes*, they had been govern'd by a Deputy under the King of *Kent*. But in 527 *Erchemwin*, descended from *Woden*, assum'd the Title of King of *Essex*, or of the *East-Saxons*. Who *Erchemwin* was, how long he had been in *Britain*, and what Right he had to this new Kingdom, Historians inform us not. I conjecture he was Governor under *Oeta* King of *Kent*, and taking the Advantage of his Weakness, got the People to acknowledge him for their King.

527.  
*Erchen-*  
*win* 1st  
King of  
*Essex*.

R

About

(a) Some place this Fact sooner, some, later.

The Arrival  
of the An-  
gles Bede.  
G. Malm.  
M. West.

About this time, Multitudes of *Angles*, under the Conduct of 12 Chiefs all of equal Authority, but whose Names, except that of *Uffa*, are unknown, landed at some Port on the *Eastern* Coast of *Britain*, where continually getting Ground towards the *West*, they compell'd the *Britons* at length to abandon the Country along the *Eastern* shore. The *Angles* thus situated had an opportunity of sending from time to time for fresh Colonies from *Germany*, by the means of whom they founded the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*. But as their first Chiefs assum'd not the Title of Kings, the Beginning of this Kingdom is generally brought down to the Year 571.

The found-  
ing of the  
Kingdom of  
the East-  
Angles in  
571.

During the Eight Years Peace between *Arthur* and *Cerdick*, the King of *Armorica* sent to his Uncle for Aid against *Frollon*, one of his Subjects, that had revolted against him. *Arthur* went over in Person and reveng'd his Nephew's Quarrel by slaying *Frollon* with his own hand in the first Battle they fought.

The Battle  
of Cherd-  
sley.

*Arthur* was with *Hoel*, when the *Angles* arriv'd in *Britain*, which in all likelihood, gave them an opportunity of making a greater Progress, than they would have done, had he not been abroad. *Cerdick* also, taking the Advantage of his Absence, broke the Peace, and by the Valour and Conduct of his Son *Kenrick*, who always accompanied him, obtain'd a signal Victory in *Buckinghamshire* at a Place call'd *Cerdick's Lega*, now *Cherdsley* (b).

528.  
Arthur re-  
news the  
Treaty  
with Cer-  
dick.

*Arthur* at his Return, finding he was not in a condition to carry on a War against his Enemies, who were daily increasing in Numbers, renew'd the Treaty with *Cerdick*. Upon the Conclusion of which, he assum'd the Title of Emperor, and this some pretend to prove by his Seal, found at *Westminster*. *Leland* says, he saw the Impression of it on red Wax, with these words on it: *Patr. Arthurius. Britann. Gall. Germ. Tac. Imper.* that is, *Patricius Arthurius. Britannicus. Gallicus.*

Leland.

(b) *Milton* confounds this with the Battle of *Badon-Hill*.



*Gallicus. Germanicus. Dacicus. Imperator.* These proud Titles perhaps were the Occasion of attributing to him so many Victories in Foreign Countries, and of stiling him, Conqueror of the *Gauls, Germans* and *Dacians*. But whether this Seal be genuine or not, there is Foundation enough for these Titles from the Exploits I have related of this Prince. He might be call'd *Britannicus*, from his being Monarch of the *Britons*. The Title of *Gallicus* might be owing to his Expedition against the *Gauls*, just now mention'd. The Sirname of *Germanicus* might be given him from his beating so often the *Saxons* who came from *Germany*. His being styl'd *Dacicus* might be founded on his Victories over the *Jutes*, who were mixt with the *Saxons*, and whom some have confounded with the *Danes* and *Dacians*. Be this as it will, if he took upon him the Title of Emperor, as in all probability he did, after the Example of *Ambrosius*, it will be necessary, in order to avoid great Part of the Confusion we find, with regard to *Chronology*, in the History of this Prince, carefully to distinguish the several Times or *Epocha's* of his coming to his four Dignities. 1. He mounted the Throne of *Dammonium* in 467, at fifteen Years of Age. 2. In 476, he was created *Patrician* by *Ambrosius*. 3. In 508, he was elected Monarch of *Britain*. 4. In 528, he assum'd the Imperial Purple.

4 Epocha's  
in the Reign  
of Arthur.

*Hoel*, King of *Armorica*, being inform'd that the *Wifigoths* then in Possession of Part of *Gaul*, were preparing to invade his Dominions, sent to desire *Arthur* to come over once more to his Assistance. How necessary soever *Arthur's* Presence might be in his own Kingdom, he readily complied with his request. As he was like to be gone some time, he left *Modred* his Nephew, whom he design'd for his Successor, Regent in his Absence, at the same time entrusting him with the Care of the Queen his Wife.

*Arthur* re-  
turns into  
*Armorica*.  
Gal. Mo-  
nu. l. 7.  
Annal.  
Sax Lang-  
horn.

*Arthur* was no sooner departed, but *Cerdick* attack'd and subdu'd the Isle of *Wight*, destroying almost all the Inhabitants in a cruel Manner. But this was Nothing

530.  
The Treachery of  
*Modred*.

Ran. Cestr.  
G. Malm.  
Antiq.  
Glast. Po-  
lychr. Ri-  
card. Di-  
vision.

to *Arthur*, in comparison of what follow'd by the Treachery of *Modred*, whom he had trusted with All he held most dear. This Traitour, finding the Wife and Kingdom of *Arthur* in his Power, fell passionately in love with Both, and not satisfied with debauching the Queen in private, he publicly married her. Then to prevent his being call'd to an Account, resolv'd to seize upon the Crown of his Uncle, his King and his Benefactor. To succeed the better in his Design, he judg'd it necessary to enter into an Alliance with *Cerdick*, who, being one that neglected not his own, to mind the Affairs of others, made him pay dear for his Protection, in constraining him to surrender to him *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Devonshire* and *Dorsetshire*. By which means his Kingdom became by far the largest and most considerable of all the *Saxon* Kingdoms, already establish'd. *Modred*, having upon these Terms made a League, offensive and defensive, with *Cerdick*, was crown'd at *London*, those, who abhorr'd his Treacherous doings, not daring to oppose it for fear of being oppress'd before the Return of their Lawful Prince.

*Cerdick*  
invites  
over more  
Saxons.  
G. Malm.  
Antiq.  
Glast.

In the mean time, *Cerdick* considering the greatest Part of his Subjects were *Britons*, on whose Loyalty he cou'd not rely, believ'd it necessary, in order to preserve his new Dominions, to people them with *Saxon* Colonies. To this End he sent word into *Germany*, that All, who had a mind to come and settle in his Kingdom, shou'd meet with great Encouragements. Not long after this Invitation, above 800 Vessels were seen to arrive in his Ports, on board of which were vast Numbers of *Saxons* and *Frees* with their Families. These had Habitations allotted them, from whence *Cerdick* took care to drive such *Britons* as he most suspected, especially from the Frontiers. Thus the *Britons* by degrees began to lose that Superiority in Number they had hitherto had over the Foreigners.

*Cerdick*  
crown'd a-  
gain.

*Cerdick*, on account of his having so many *New* Subjects, thought it necessary to repeat the Ceremony of his Coronation at *Winchester*, his Capital City, where he

he was crown'd again *King of the West-Saxons*. This Kingdom was very advantageously situated, being bounded on the *North* by the *Thames*; on the *West* by the *Severn*; on the *South* by the *Sea*; on the *East* by the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*. As for the *Britons*, that were still in Possession of the greatest Part of *Dammonium*, *Cerdick* had little to fear from them, seeing they were divided from the Rest of their Nation by this New Kingdom, and by the *Severn*.

*Cerdick* was but too well acquainted with the Valour and Activity of *Arthur*, to imagine he wou'd sit still at his Return; and therefore us'd all his Endeavours to put himself in a Posture of Defence. Which done, he rewarded his Nephews *Stuff* and *Withgar*, who had faithfully serv'd him ever since their Arrival, with the Isle of *Wight*. As in all likelihood they were *Jutes*, *Cerdick*, in the Distribution of his New Colonies, had taken care before-hand to people that little Island with their own Countrymen (c) \*.

Thus *Cerdick* was prepar'd against the Attacks of *Arthur* when Death took him out of the World in the Year 534, Sixteen Years after his first Coronation, and 39 after his Arrival in *Britain*. He must have been of a great Age when he died, since 39 Years before, *Kenrick* his Son was able to assist him in his Wars. The time this Prince pass'd in *Britain* was a continued Scene of Good and Bad Success, which serv'd equally to make appear his great Abilities, either in improving his Victories, or in extricating himself, with a wonderful Quickness, out of those Difficulties the Fortune of War frequently threw him into. *Kenrick* his Son, the faithful Companion of all his Labors, succeeded him, both in the Kingdom of *Wessex*, and also in the Monarchy or Generalship of the *Saxons* and *Angles*. *Cerdick's* Successors were surnam'd *Gewishians*, from *Gewish* one of their Ancestors, famous no doubt in his Generation.

534.  
The Death  
of *Cerdick*.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1.

He is suc-  
ceeded by  
*Kenrick*.

The

(c) There were abundance of *Jutes* also in *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Sussex*. \* *Withgaraburg*, now contracted into *Caresbrook*, was so nam'd from *Withgar*.



Polychr.  
• 5. c. 4.

The same Year died *Osta* King of *Kent*, after a Reign of 22 Years, wherein we meet with nothing remarkable but the dismembring the Kingdom of *Essex*, which He, for what reason is unknown, thought fit not to oppose. He was succeeded by his Son *Hermenrick*.

535.  
Arthur re-  
turns,

*Arthur*, after a four Years Absence, at length quitted *Armorica*. We are ignorant of the Cause of his long Stay there, so very prejudicial to his Affairs, which he found upon his Return in a desperate Condition. *Modred* was in Possession of his Throne and in strict Alliance with the *Saxons*, whose Interest it was to support the Usurper. However *Arthur*, tho' broken with Age, and almost destitute of Friends, resolv'd to undertake the regaining his Kingdom, as well as the revenging himself on the perfidious *Modred*. This Resolution rouz'd the Courage of those that dar'd not at first to declare for him. A good Number of Officers and Soldiers, who cou'd not bear the Thoughts of fighting against him that had taught them how to conquer, deserted the Usurper, and came and list'd themselves under the Banner of their lawful Prince. With this little Army, whose Defect in Number was amply made up by the Courage of the Soldiers, and the Valour and Conduct of the General, *Arthur* met *Modred*, and defeated *Modred*, reinforc'd with *Saxons* and *Picts*, who gladly join'd him to revenge themselves on *Arthur* for carrying Fire and Sword into their Country, and finding the Means to engage him at a great Disadvantage, obtain'd a signal Victory over him. In the Battel he lost *Galvan* and *Angusel*, two Princes of his Blood, who had faithfully adher'd to him both in Prosperity and Adversity.

and defeats  
Modred.  
537.

*Modred*, by the Assistance of the *Saxons* and *Picts* was soon in a Condition to give his Uncle Battel again; but with no better Success than before. *Arthur*, tho' always victorious, cou'd not however destroy the Usurper, much less wrest out of the hands of the *Saxons*, what had been surrendred to them. During this War, there happen'd two *Eclipses* of the Sun, which credulous Historians have taken notice of, fancying they

they were Presages of the utter Ruin of the *Britons*, which fell out soon after.

The Number of *Modred's* Forces being counterbalanc'd by the Valour and Experience of *Arthur*, the War had now lasted Seven Years, when the fatal Blow was given in 542, by the River *Camb-alon* \*, near *Camelford* in *Cornwall*. This Day prov'd fatal to both the Generals, as well as to all the *Britons*, who having lost their best Troops, were never after able to stand against the *Saxons*. During this bloody Battle, the Uncle and Nephew happening to meet, rush'd upon one another so furiously, that nothing but Death could part them. *Modred* was slain upon the Spot, and *Arthur*, mortally wounded, was carried to *Glassenbury*, where he died, aged 90 Years, 76 of which he had spent in the continual Exercise of Arms. Tho' he had reign'd but 34 Years, yet before he mounted the Throne, he had a long time commanded the *British* Armies under *Ambrosius*. He was without Dispute a great General. It is pity his Actions shou'd have been made the Foundation of numberless Fables that have been put off upon the Publick: whereas his Life was worthy of being recorded by the gravest and most able Pen. He is said to have instituted the Order of the *Knights of the Round Table*, so famous in *Romances*. Tho' this Institution has given occasion for many fabulous Relations, yet is it not therefore to be deem'd altogether Chimerical. For where is the improbability that *Arthur* shou'd institute an Order of Knighthood in *Britain*, when we are sure from the Letters of *Cassiodorus*, that *Theodorick*, King of the *Ostrogoths*, instituted one in *Italy*, in the same Century?

542.  
The last  
Battle,  
wherein  
Arthur  
and Mo-  
dred were  
both slain.  
Gal. Mon.  
H. Hunt.

Such was the Love and Esteem of the *Britons* for this Hero, that many of Them wou'd never believe he was dead. There were some, for several Ages after, that imagining he was travell'd into Foreign Parts, expected his

\* *Cam* Signifies winding in *Saxon*. It is call'd also *Camel*.

his Return (*d*). This wou'd seem incredible, had we not a late Instance of the like Folly, with regard to *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugal*. This perhaps is what gave some Writer, who had a mind to ingratiate himself with the *Britons*, a handle to invent all those pretended Voyages and imaginary Victories in foreign Countries; the which have serv'd for an inexhaustible Fund of Lies and Absurdities to *Romantick* Authors, who have so disfigur'd his History, that several have doubted whether there was ever such a Man in the World. But if we distinguish Truth from Falsehood, and reject what favours too much of the *Romance*, we shall meet with nothing in his History unbecoming the Character of a great Prince. The Times of his Life and Reign are so confounded by fabulous Writers, that in order to clear them, recourse must be had to the four several *Epocha's* before-mention'd. He was born at *Tindagol* in *Cornwall* in 452 or 453, and died in 542. He was buried in the Monastery at *Glassenbury*, by the side of *Gueniver* his second Wife. He had two others of the same Name, the first died in the Country of the *Picts*, and the third prov'd false to him. By this last he had a Son call'd *Noem*, who died a Child. *Arthur* when he was about to expire, sent his Crown to *Constantine* his Cousin the Son of *Cador*, and Grandson of *Ambrosius*, declaring him by that his Successor, which must be understood only of *Dammonium*, for the Monarchy of *Britain* was extinct by his Death. It is affirm'd that his Body was found whole and entire in *Glassenbury* Monastery in the Reign of *Henry II*. Whereon might plainly be distinguish'd ten Wounds, one whereof only seem'd Mortal. But what is said of his Stature is doubtless all a Fable, namely, that the Distance between his Eye-brows was a Span, and that the Rest of his Body was in Proportion. We have the Names of each of his Arms in the antient *Romances*. His Shield was call'd

Usher de  
Prim. &c.  
Girald.  
Cambr. in  
Spec. Eccl.

Roger de  
Hovedon.

(*d*) Historians assure us this Notion was not entirely rooted out till his Tomb was found in the Reign of *Hen. II*. 600 Years after his Death.



call'd *Pridwen*, his Lance *Ron*, and his Sword *Caliburn*. This last was presented in 1091 to *Tancred King of Sicily* by *Richard I.*

As soon as it was known in *Germany* that *Arthur* was dead, and that the dismay'd *Britons* had neither Power nor Courage to defend themselves, great Numbers of People resolv'd to go over and settle in *Britain*. *Ida*, by Nation an *Angle*, and descended from *Woden*, having embark'd on board 40 Vessels, abundance of Families of his own Countrymen landed at *Flamborough* in *Yorkshire*, then in possession of the *Northumberland Saxons*, who receiv'd them as Friends. The *Northumbrians*, so called from their inhabiting *North* of the *Humber*, had been in that Country ever since the time of *Hen-gist*, and had all along been in some Dependence on the Kingdom of *Kent*, tho' we know nothing how they were govern'd from the Death of *Oeta* and *Ebusa* to the Year 547. *Ida*, upon his Arrival, finding they were willing to obey him, got himself acknowledg'd both by them and the *Angles* he had brought over with him; King of *Northumberland*. The Readiness of the *Saxons* to mix with the *Angles* and to obey a King of that Nation, confirms what I have already observ'd, that they made but one People in *Germany*. This was the fifth Kingdom founded by the *Anglo-Saxons*. *Ida*, the first King was a Prince of great Fame; however as he establish'd himself without any Opposition, we have but one Particular recorded of him in History, and that is, his building the City of *Bebbanburgh*, so called from his Queen *Bebba*. This City was after many Years destroy'd; however there still remains the Castle of *Bamborough*.

In the Year 552, notwithstanding their weak Estate, the *Britons* made an Effort to recover Part of their Lands from *Kenrick King of the West-Saxons*, but were repuls'd with great Loss near *Salisbury*.

We find in the *Saxons Annals*, that, three Years after, two Sons of *Modred*, by the Assistance of the *Saxons*, attempted to dethrone *Constantine*, to whom *Arthur* had bequeath'd the Kingdom of *Dammonium*. But *Con-*

S

stantine,

547.

The Arri-  
val of *Ida*.  
Gal Mon.  
An. Sax.  
Flor. Wi-  
gor.  
H. Hunt.  
M. West,

*Ida* first  
King of  
Northum-  
land.

552.

H. Hunt.

555.

Gal. Mon.

l. 8.

*stantine*, being better prepar'd for Them than they imagin'd, not only put them to rout, but pursuing them to *Glassenbury*, slew them in the Arms of the Abbot, who interceded for them in vain.

559.  
Ida dies.

*Ida*, King of *Northumberland*, died in 559, after he had reign'd 12 Years. Tho' the profound Peace he enjoy'd during his whole Reign, gave him no opportunity of showing his Valour, yet all Historians agree he was a most accomplish'd Prince. After his Death, *Northumberland*, upon what Account is not known, was divided into two Kingdoms. *Adda*, the Son of *Ida* was King of *Bernicia*, or the *Northern* Part, and *Alla*, descended from *Woden*, of *Deira* or the *Southern* Part. *Ida* left Issue 12 Sons, half by Wives and half by *Concubines*.

560.  
Death of  
Kenrick.

The year following, *Kenrick* King of *Wessex*, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, died after a Reign of 26 Years. The Reputation he had gain'd during his Father's life, made it believ'd he would push on his Conquests: But when he was seated on the Throne, he show'd no Signs of Ambition, but employ'd himself wholly in promoting Peace and good Order in his Dominions. He was in Arms but once, in order to repel the *Britons*, who came and attack'd him. Of the four Sons he left behind him, *Keaulin*, the eldest, succeeded to his Kingdom, and to the Monarchy of the *Saxons*.

Keaulin  
succeeds  
him.

*Keaulin* was no sooner on the Throne but he form'd vast Designs of enlarging his Dominions. He was an ambitious Prince; not satisfied with the Prerogatives he was vested with as Monarch, he consider'd the other *Saxon* Kings as his Vassals and Dependents. But finding he shou'd meet with some Difficulty in bringing them to submit to him as he expected, he made extraordinary Preparations, which alarm'd both the *Saxon* and *British* Princes: More especially these last, who cou'd not but be in a great Consternation, considering their deplorable Condition. Since the Death of *Arthur*, they had liv'd in a Sort of Anarchy. What remain'd of their Country was canton'd out into little independen-

independent States, which weaken'd one another by the Disunion of the Princes that govern'd them. The *British* Historians give such Accounts of these *Petty Sovereigns*, that the Nation in general cou'd have but small Hopes of Assistance from any One or All of them together. *Constantine* King of *Cornwall*, was a cruel and bloody Prince, polluted also with abominable Lusts. *Gildas*. *Aurelius Conanus*, whose Kingdom lay to the *East* of the *Severn*, was guilty of Parricide, and reign'd with unheard-of Tyranny. *Vortipor*, King of *Demetia*, [or *South-wales*] was over-grown with Pride; He also gloried in having no Religion, and persecuted the Clergy. *Cuneglas*, whose Dominions were *North* of *Cambria* or *Wales*, was grown old in Vice, and famous for his wicked Deeds. *Maglocune* or *Malgon* (e) King of *Mona* or *Anglesey*, thought of nothing but pillaging his Neighbours and Subjects, and heaping up Riches by Rapine and Violence. In a word, *Britain* was in a terrible Confusion. These Tyrants not daring to trust one another, cou'd not meet together to consult upon Measures for their common Safety. Each therefore minding only his own Interests, the *Saxons* were left at liberty to establish themselves upon their Ruins.

However *Keanlin's* Preparations made them look about a little and think of defending themselves. To this End they elected *Malgon* General, purely upon account of his Giant-like Stature. But what cou'd one of so little Experience have done, had the *Saxons* united their Forces against him? But luckily enough for him and the *Britons*, *Keanlin* was resolv'd, in the first Place, to bring his Country-men under, so turn'd against the *Saxons* those Arms he shou'd have employ'd against the common Enemy. As no one of the neighboring Princes was a Match for him, each dreaded being oppress'd, shou'd he declare against him singly. They were therefore by degrees forc'd to submit to a

S 2

much

(e) *Arthur's* Sister's Son, who sided with *Modred* against his Uncle.



much greater Dependence, than their Laws and Customs requir'd of them towards their *Monarch* or *General*, dreading at the same time *Keaulin's* Designs wou'd not end there.

564.  
Ethelbert  
becomes  
King of  
Kent.  
G. Malm.  
l. i.

Flor. Wi-  
gor.

At length, *Hermenrick* King of *Kent* dying in 564, *Ethelbert* his Son and Successor, cou'd not brook the proud and haughty Proceedings of the *West-Saxon*, which griev'd him the more, because, as a Descendent from *Hengist*, he thought he had a better Right to the Dignity of Monarch, than any other Prince. Full of this Notion, he declar'd War against *Keaulin*, without considering the Disproportion between their Forces. *Keaulin*, disdaining to be attack'd by a young Prince of no Reputation, march'd against him, and giving him Battel at *Wibbandune* [or *Wimbleton* in *Surry*,] entirely routed him. *Ethelbert*, upon his being defeated a second Time, was forc'd to sue for Peace. His Vexation at being thus disappointed of his Hopes, was encreas'd by the Jest's of the other Princes, who rallied him for his Presumption. However he learnt this Lesson, that Courage alone is not sufficient for War, but must be accompanied with Prudence and Force, which he made such good use of, that he became afterwards one of the Wisest and most Illustrious Princes of his Nation. This was the first Civil-War among the *Saxons*, which was follow'd by many more, caus'd by the Restlessness and Ambition of their Princes; in so much that if another *Arthur* had arose, the *Britons* might have recover'd All they had lost. But *Divine* Providence had order'd Matters otherwise.

571.  
Uffa first  
King of the  
East-An-  
gles.

*Uffa*, the only Survivor of the twelve Chiefs of the *Angles* before-mention'd, assum'd in 571 the Title of *King of the East-Angles*. As This was 40 Years after his Arrival in *Britain*, he must have been of a great Age when he was crown'd, This was the Sixth King of the *Anglo-Saxons* \*.

*Keaulin*

\* The Kings his Successors were from him called *Uffings*.

*Keanlin* was so blown up with his Success against *Ethelbert*, that he look'd upon the Neighboring *Saxon* Princes as his Subjects and Vassals. Indeed the Kings of *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, being separated from him by a large Tract of Land in possession of the *Britons*, had not much to fear from his Ambition. But the Kings of *Kent*, *Essex* and *Sussex*, were forc'd to submit to him, as Superiour to each of them in Extent of Dominions. After this he turn'd his Arms against the *Britons* with a design to make new Conquests. Historians have given us but a very short Account of this War, which lasted Seven Years, and extremely weaken'd the *Britons*. They only tell us, that *Cutha*, the Brother of *Keanlin*, gave the *Britons* several Overthrows, and wou'd in all probability have very much enlarg'd his Brother's Dominions, had not Death snatch'd him away in the midst of his Victories.

*The Ambition of Keanlin.*

*He attacks the Britons.*  
An. Sax.  
Flor. Wigor.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 2.

Before this War was over, *Uffa* first King of the *East-Angles* died in 578, leaving his Crown to *Tiut* his Son.

578.  
Titil.  
Flor. Wig.

Such was the deplorable Condition of the *Britons*, that the time of their utter Destruction seem'd to be at hand. Press'd and surrounded on all Sides by their Enemies, they resolv'd in this their last Extremity, to apply to the *Scots*, as they had done before to the *Saxons*, for Assistance. Accordingly Ambassadors were sent to *Aidan* King of *Scotland* to implore his Help. "They represented to him, that their Ruin wou'd infallibly draw on his: That the *Saxons* had in view "no less than the Conquest of the whole Island, "great Part whereof was already in their Possession: "That if these Foreigners shou'd at length over-run "what remain'd in the Hands of the *Britons*, the *Scots* "were to expect no better Quarter than the *Picts*, "whom they had already dispossessed of Part of their "Country. To this they added, that the *Saxon* "Monarch was an active and ambitious Prince, capable of forming Designs, the Consequences of which "All wou'd have reason to dread, unless a timely "Stop

*The Britons send to the Scots for Assistance.*

Aidan  
marches to  
their Assist-  
ance,

and defeats  
Keanlin.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 2.

Aidan van-  
quish'd, re-  
tires into  
Scotland.

“ Stop were put to his Proceedings. ” *Aidan*, prevail'd upon by these Consideration, put himself at the head of a powerful Army, and join'd the *Britons* in order to attack the common Enemy. *Keanlin* march'd against him with all possible Expedition. But the Neighboring Princes not being over-hasty to send in their Troops, his Forces were inferior to those of the *Britons* and *Scots*. However he engag'd them with undaunted Courage; but being overpower'd by Numbers, his Army was cut in pieces, his Son *Cuthwin* slain, and he himself hardly escap'd with his Life. The *Britons*, elevated with their Success, immediately fell to laying of Schemes how to drive the *Saxons* quite out of their Island: but far were they from being able to put them in Execution. The *Saxon* Princes, tho' well enough pleas'd to see *Keanlin* humbled, yet thought it not for their Interest to let the *Britons* and *Scots* enjoy the Advantages they had gain'd by their Victory; and therefore soon put their Monarch at the Head of a much more numerous Army than the former. Upon which, impatient of Revenge, he quickly came to an Engagement, and, by a signal Victory, repair'd his Disgrace, and made the *Britons* see the Vanity of all their Hopes. *Aidan* retiring into his own Country (f), the *Britons* finding all their Measures broken, thought of nothing but sitting down contented with what was left them. But Divine Justice, that had long pursu'd them, was not yet satisfied. They were still to be reduc'd to greater streights, and behold their best and richest Countries taken from them by a Nation, whom God had chosen for the Instrument of his Vengeance.

584.  
The Arri-  
val of Cri-  
da.

Scarce were the *Britons* recover'd from their Consternation, when a great Fleet, appearing on their Coasts, quite sunk their Courage. This Fleet, the most considerable of any that had come from *Germany*, brought over great Numbers of *Angles* under *Crida*, of the

(f) Some say he was slain in the Battle. *Scoti Chr. Buchan. l. v.*



the Race of *Woden*. I have not been able to learn where they landed, but in all probability, it was in *East-Anglia*, and, having march'd cross that Kingdom, they advanc'd towards the Middle of the Island, the *Britons* in those Parts not being able to oppose them. *Crida* taking the Advantage of the Terror his Presence struck the *Britons* with, drove them before him where-ever he came. In vain did they fly to their wall'd Towns. The want of Provisions for such Multitudes soon compell'd them to surrender themselves at Discretion.

Unable to defend themselves against these new Invaders, the *Britons* at length took to their last and only Refuge, which was, to retreat into *Cambria*, on the other side the *Severn*. Their Flight put *Crida* in possession of all the Country lying between the *Humber*, the *Severn* and the *Thames*, by which he was bounded on the North, West, and South. To the East of him lay the Kingdoms of *Essex* and *East-Anglia*.

Out of these Conquests, he founded the Kingdom of the *Middle-Angles* or *Mercians*, larger and more considerable than any of the others. *Crida* the first King was crown'd in 584.

*Cambria* not being sufficient to contain so many Families, multitudes of miserable *Britons* fled over into *Armorica*, where great Numbers of their Countrymen were already settled \*. Others submitted themselves to the *Saxons*, content to become *Hewers of Wood* and *Drawers of Water* for a wretched Subsistence. Those that remain'd in *Cambria*, a Country defended by Nature, kept their ground against all the Power of the Conquerors, who cou'd not, till long after, extend their Conquests beyond

\* *Armorica*, (i. e.) Maritime, (by reason of its Situation) is said to have been call'd, *Bretaigne*, from the *Britons* that flock'd thither. *Argentré*, on the contrary, affirms that it was called so of Old, and that the Inhabitants sending Colonies into *Albion*, gave the name of *Britain* to the whole Island. It is probable indeed that the *Armoricans* did people some Part of *Britain*, but then this Author alledges no substantial reason to prove, that *Armorica* was called *Bretaigne* before the sending these Colonies, much less that the *Armoricans* chang'd the antient name of *Albion*. *Rapin*.

beyond the Mountains. This little Corner of the Island, where the *Britons* were coop'd up, was afterwards divided into several petty Kingdoms, which were united or disunited, according to the Ambition or Power of their Kings. Here I shall leave the *Britons* for the future, as having no Relation to the History of *England*, but as a neighboring Nation. It is true they made from time to time several Attempts to recover their lost Estates: But all their Efforts were in vain, as well as those of the *Anglo-Saxons*, to drive them from their Retreat.

The Saxons change the name of Cambria into Wales;

The Saxons gave the *Britons* the name of *Gwallish* or *Wallish*, that is, *Gauls*, taking them to be, as in all appearance they were, of *Gaulish* Extraction. For this reason *Cambria* was term'd by them, *Wallish-land*: Hence the Name *Wales* among the *English* at this day, which the *French* have chang'd into *Galles*, upon the account of their being deriv'd from the *Gauls*. The *Walloons* also and *Wallachians* have still kept these Names, and in some places in *Germany*, the *Italian* Tongue is called *Welch*, because of *Gallia Cisalpina* inhabited by the *Gauls*. As for *Cambria*, I take it, that before the Arrival of the *Saxons*, the *Britons*, who call'd themselves *Cumri* or *Cumbri*, nam'd their Country *Cambria*, and that after their Retreat beyond the *Severn*, the same Name, that before was common to the whole, became peculiar to that Part only of the Island.

and of Britain into England. Jo. Salisb. in Polycr. l. 5.

Much about the same time, the *Anglo-Saxons* gave, with one Consent, to the Seven Kingdoms in general, the Name of *England*, that is, the Country of the *Angles*. Whether they did so, because the *Angles* were more numerous than the *Saxons* and *Jutes*, and possess'd the largest and most considerable of the seven Kingdoms, or for some other reason, is uncertain. Perhaps *Engle-land* is a Contraction of *Engle-Saxe-land*, a Name deriv'd from the two principal Nations that settled themselves in *Great-Britain*. But the *Picts*, *Scots* and *Irish* continued the old Names, and called them *Saxenag*, and their Country *Saxeneage*. I suppose, as the *Saxons* were first known in *Britain*, the neighboring Nations, accustom'd

to

to that Name, did not think fit to come into the Change introduc'd by the Conquerors.

I know very well, it is generally thought, that *Ecbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, about 250 Years after the time I am speaking of, first gave the Name of *England* to *Britain*. But this Opinion is founded on the Authority of an Historian that is far from being Infallible. Others, who seem to me to go on much better Grounds, positively affirm, that this Change of Names was made by the *Saxons*, a little after their Arrival in *Britain*, that is, as may be reasonably suppos'd, about the time of *Crida's* Settlement in the Island. But how is it possible to bring down this little after to the Reign of *Ecbert*, which began not till the Year 800?

After the Death of *Ida*, and the Division of *Northumberland*, *Alla* reign'd in *Deira*, and *Adda*, the eldest Son of *Ida*, in *Bernicia*, who dying in 563, four Kings, all Sons or Brothers to *Ida*, reign'd successively till the Year 586, when *Athelric*, *Ida's* youngest Brother, was plac'd on the Throne.

*Succession of  
the Kings of  
Bernicia.  
G. Malm.*

In the Year 587, *Erchemwin*, first King of *Essex*, died after he had reign'd 60 Years, and was succeeded by *Sledda* his Son.

*Sledda  
King of  
Essex.*

Thus have we run over the most remarkable Events that happen'd in *Great-Britain*, from the Arrival of the *Saxons* to their Establishment in the Island, after a War of 130 Years. We have seen the Efforts and Struggles of the *Britons* for Liberty, and how, after a resolute Defence, they were forc'd at last to give up their Country to the very People they had call'd in to their Assistance. In the following Book, we shall see what pass'd during the *Heptarchy*, the Name given to the Seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, when consider'd as making but one *Body* under the same Government. The *Saxons*, *Futtes* and *Angles*, Conquerors of *Britain*, looking upon themselves as one and the same People, just as they had done in *Germany*, establish'd a Form of Government, as like as was possible to what they had liv'd under in their own Country. They had their *Witten-*

*agemot,*

T



*agemot*, or *Assembly of Wise-men*, for regulating Affairs relating to the Seven Kingdoms in General, and conferr'd the Command of their Armies upon one chosen out of the Seven Kings, to whom, for that reason no doubt, some have given the Title of *Monarch*, on pretence of his having the Precedence and Superiority above the Rest. But to me that Dignity seems rather to have resembled the *Stadtholder of Holland*. There was however this Difference between the *Saxon Government in Britain* and that in *Germany*; in *Germany* the Governor of each Province entirely depended on the General Assembly, in whom the supreme Power was lodg'd; whereas in *Britain*, each King was *Sovereign* in his own Dominions. So that this Form of Government may very justly be compar'd to that of the *United Provinces*, each of whom taken singly is *Sovereign* and *Independent*, which does not hinder but that All of them together may be consider'd, in some Respects, as united into one State, and subject to the Determinations of the Assembly General, to which they give their Consents by their Deputies.

The Causes  
of the Re-  
volution  
that hap-  
pen'd in  
Great-Bri-  
tain.

In enquiring into the Causes of the Revolution that happen'd in *Great-Britain* by the Conquest of the *Saxons*, it must be own'd in the first Place that God was pleas'd, by a just Judgment, to punish the *Britons* for their enormous Crimes, from which, according to their own Historians, neither *People*, nor *Kings*, nor *Clergy* were free. But as the Divine Justice generally makes use of natural Means in the Execution of its Designs, it is these chiefly we are to look after. And first, it is plain, that the Dissentions of the *Britons* were the principal Cause of their Destruction. Had they been more united, they had better defended themselves against the first *Saxons*, and by that means discourag'd others from attempting to settle in their Island. In the next Place, their long Subjection to the *Romans* enervated their Courage, and extinguish'd their natural Inclination for War. Lastly, they were a long time without a General capable of conducting them and making them sensible they

w ere

were no less Brave than other Nations. How different a People did they seem to be under the Conduct of *Am- brosius* and the Great *Arthur*, from what they were when unable to defend themselves against the *Picts* and *Scots*. So great an Influence has the Good or Bad Qualities of Princes over their Subjects, as is evident from the Histories of all Nations. We shall find in the Sequel, that the Civil-Wars of the *Anglo-Saxons* were no less fatal to them, than to the *Britons* were their Intestine Divisions. They gave an opportunity to the Strongest to oppress the Weakest, and at length made way for One to subject all the Rest.





## *The State of the* BRITISH- CHURCH, *from the Arrival* *of the SAXONS, to the Retreat* *of the BRITONS into Wales.*

*The History*  
*of the Bri-*  
*tish Church*  
*little*  
*known*



It is in vain to expect a regular Account of the Affairs of the *British* Church in her calamitous and afflicted State during a War of 130 Years. The *Clergy*, the only Writers in those Days, had something else to mind besides penning Histories. But had they had time, it would have been a difficult matter for their Writings to have come down to us. We must therefore rest satisfied with the Relation of a few Traditionary Events, without any Order or Connexion.

*Several*  
*Schools*  
*erected.*

*Schools of*  
*Dubricius*  
*and Iltut.*

Before the Arrival of the *Saxons*, *Germanus*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, came twice into *Britain* on account of the *Pelagian* Heresy, as hath been observ'd. He found the Corruption of the *Clergy* was owing in a great measure to their Ignorance; and therefore erected *Publick Schools* for the Instruction of the *British* Youth, especially such as were design'd for the Service of the Church. The most famous of these Schools, were those of *Dubricius* and *Iltut*. *Dubricius* Bishop of *Landaff*, was made Arch-Bishop of *Caerleon* and Metropolitan of all *Cambria*. He had two Schools, where he taught himself, one at *Henstland*, and another at *Mockroft*. *Iltut* kept his at *Llan-tayl*, that is, *The Church of Iltut*. There was also at *Bangor* in *Wales* a famous Monastery where Youth

were



were educated. Amongst the Advantages the Britons receiv'd from the Presence of *Germanus*, some reckon also the change he made in the *Publick Service* of the Church, by introducing the *Gaulish* Rites and Ceremonies. This is almost All we know concerning the *British Church*, during the time the *Saxons* were employ'd in their Conquests. I can only add a few Particulars relating to some *Ecclesiasticks* famous for their Holy Lives, who flourish'd then in the Island; with which I shall close my Account of the Church of *Britain*, till the Conversion of the *Saxons* give me an opportunity of speaking of the Church of *England*.

*Patrick* was one of the most remarkable, on Account of converting the *Irish*, which is generally attributed to him, tho' *Anatolius* and *Palladius* preach'd in *Ireland* before Him. In all probability, he made the greatest Progress, and therefore the *Irish* did and still do reverence him as their Apostle and Protector. There were three of this Name: *Patrick the Elder*, who died in 449, and is mention'd in the *Chronicle* of *Glassenbury Church*: *Patrick the Great*, the Converter of the *Irish*, who died in 493, after he had govern'd the Church of *Ireland* 60 Years: *Patrick the Younger* his Nephew, who surviv'd his Uncle some Years. St. Patrick.

*Dubricius*, Arch-bishop of *Caerleon*, was illustrious for his Piety, Learning, and the *Schools* he founded, and lastly for the *Synod* he held at *Brêvi* in *Cardiganshire*, against the *Pelagians*. Dubricius.

*David*, Son to a *British* Prince, and Successor to *Dubricius*, transfer'd the Archiepiscopal Seat from *Caerleon* to *Menevia*, from him call'd *St Davids*. He was noted for his austere Life, and his *Synod* at *Vittoria*, where the *Canons* of *Brêvi* were confirm'd. Several Miracles are attributed to him, particularly his giving to the *Bathwaters* the Virtues they still retain. He is said to have liv'd 146 Years. St. David.

*Samson the Elder*, and *Samson the Younger*. The first was sent for from *Armorica* and made Archbishop of *York* by *Ambrosius*. The second, of Royal Race, Samson, Elder and Younger.

was

was made an Archbishop, without any particular See assign'd him, but had a Power to perform the *Archiepiscopal* Functions where-ever he came. The *Saxon* Wars forc'd him to return Home, where he was made Archbishop of *Dol*. He is said, when he went off, to have carried with him several *Memoirs* that would have given us a more perfect Knowledge of the Affairs of the *British* Church, had they been carefully preserv'd.

Cadoc.

*Cadoc*, Abbot of *Landcaerven*, spent his whole Income, which was considerable, in maintaining 300 Priests. He liv'd to the Year 570.

Patern.

*Patern*, of a noble Family in *Armorica*, after having studied 20 Years in *Ireland*, came and settled in *Cambria*, where he employ'd his Time in making Peace among the several Princes. He generally resided at *Cardigan*, where is still to be seen *Llan-Badarnvawr*, that is, *The Church of Great St. Patern*, which for some time was a Bishop's Seat. *Patern* died in his native Country, where he was so distinguish'd for his Holy Life, that they consecrated to his Memory three Festival Days.

Petrock.

*Petrock*, a Native of *Cornwall*, was famous for his Piety, and gave Name to *Petrock-stow* or *Padstow* in the same County.

Kentigern.

*Kentigern*, Son to a Princess of the *Picts*, was Abbot of *Glasgow*, from whence he went into *Wales*, and founded a Religious Society, and then return'd to his Monastery. His Austerities are much cryed up, particularly his strict Abstinence from Flesh.

Asaph.

*Asaph*, the Disciple of *Kentigern*, wrote his Master's Life, by whom he was made Abbot of the Monastery he founded in *Wales*, he liv'd to the Year 590, and gave Name to the City of *St. Asaph*.

Columba.

*Columba*, nobly descended in *Ireland*, founded there a Monastery, called *Dearmach*, that is, *The Field of Oaks*, because situated in a Forest. Some time after He came into *Britain*, to preach the Gospel to the *Highland Picts*, whom he converted to Christianity, with their King *Brydinus*, who gave him the little Island of *Fona* or *Hj*, call'd since *Colchil*, where he founded another Monastery.

stery that became very famous afterwards. These two Monasteries for a long time supplied the *Scotch* Churches both in *Ireland* and *Great-Britain*, with Bishops and Priests. It is observable, that, according to the Institution of *Columba*, the Abbot of *Jona*, retain'd a Jurisdiction not only over several Monasteries which branch'd themselves forth from that, but also over the *Monks* that were gone off to be Priests or Bishops. *Bede's* reason for this is, *Columba* the Founder, was himself but a Priest. It might be added, that the *Monks*, who had vow'd Obedience to the Abbot of *Jona*, when they came to be Bishops, did not think they were dispens'd from their Vow. This Instance a little perplexes the Defenders of the Ecclesiastical *Hierarchy*, who endeavour to get over it, by saying it was an ill Custom crept into that Country, against the general Practice of the Church every where else.

*Gildas* of *Badon* or of *Bath*, was Scholar to *Iltut*, and a Monk of *Bangor* Monastery. He was born in the Year of the Battle of *Badon*, according to *Usher* in 520, but according to my Calculation, built upon reasons too long to be inserted here, in 511. *Gildas* wrote a Treatise entitled, *De Excidio Britannia*, Of the Destruction of Britain, wherein he boldly censures the *British* Princes in his Time, that is to say, Those who after the Death of *Arthur*, divided the Country into several *Petty* States. From him it is that we know what pass'd among the *Britains* about the Time he wrote, in 564. There is another History or rather Romance, under the Name of *Gildas*, who is by some call'd *Albanian*, and suppos'd different from him I am speaking of. But *Stillingfleet* asserts, they are both the Works of the same Author, and that there was no other *Gildas* but he of *Badon*. Gildas.

*Columbanus* an *Irish*-man, Disciple to *Congal* Abbot of *Bangor* in *Ireland*, pass'd great Part of his Life in *Britain*: From thence going into *Burgundy*, he founded the Abbey of *Luxeul*, of which he was the first Abbot. Twenty Years after, *Thierri* King of *Austrasia*, and also of *Burgundy*, banish'd him his Dominions, for too freely Columbanus.  
Fauchet  
Antiq.  
Gaul.

ly



ly censuring his Conduct, and forc'd him to take refuge in the Court of *Agilulph* King of the *Lombards*. At length, he founded near *Naples* the Monastery of *Bobio*, where he died.

These were the most noted Ecclesiasticks in the *British* Church, from the Arrival of the *Saxons* to the Retreat of the *Britons* into *Wales*. It is obvious we have the Names only of Those that flourish'd in *Ireland*, *Scotland* and *Wales*. As for the other Parts of *Britain*, we know nothing of what pass'd with respect to Church-Affairs. We have not so much as the Names of the Bishops, except *Theon* and *Thadiock*, Archbishops of *London* and *York*, who were forc'd also in the end to fly into *Wales*. It is very likely, all the Monuments of the *British* Churches were destroy'd, where-ever the *Saxons* became Masters, which was every where but *Wales*. These merciless Idolaters, as well out of Duty as Wantonness, not only trampled upon every Thing relating to the Christian Religion, but let loose their Rage against the Christians themselves.

Gildas.

*Gildas* and *Bede* have painted out their inhuman Proceedings in such a manner, as makes it appear their Barbarities were carried to the highest Degree imaginable. From the East to the West, says *Gildas*, nothing was to be seen but Churches burnt and destroy'd to their very Foundations. The Inhabitants were extirpated by the Sword, and buried under the Ruins of their own Houses. The Altars were daily profan'd by the Blood of those slain thereon. *Bede*, who was a *Saxon*, and therefore not to be suppos'd to exaggerate the Cruelties of his

Bede.

Country-men, expresses himself thus: By the Hands of the *Saxons*, a Fire was lighted up in *Britain*, that serv'd to put in Execution the just Vengeance of God against the wicked *Britons*, as he had formerly burnt *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*. The Island was so ravag'd by the Conquerors, or rather by the hand of God, making use of them as Instruments, that there seem'd to be a continued Flame from Sea to Sea, which burnt up the Cities, and cover'd the Surface of the whole Isle. Publick and Private Buildings fell in one common Ruin. The Priests were murder'd on the  
Altars;

*Altars : The Bishop with his Flock perish'd by Fire and Sword, without any Distinction, no one daring [to give their scatter'd Corps an honourable Burial.*

To these mournful Descriptions may be added, that the Britons who escap'd the Fury of their Enemies, not finding wherewithal to subsist in the Woods and Mountains, were forc'd at length to surrender themselves up to the Conquerors, deeming themselves happy by being able to purchase their Lives with the loss of their Liberty. Some fled into Foreign Parts, and those whom the Love of their Native Country kept at Home, and the Dread of Slavery prevented from submitting to the Saxons, dragg'd on a wretched Life, in miserable Wants and perpetual Fears. It is then no wonder that the Accounts of the *British* Church are so imperfect, since the Saxons industriously destroy'd all the Monuments that might have come down to our Times.

*The End of* BOOK II.

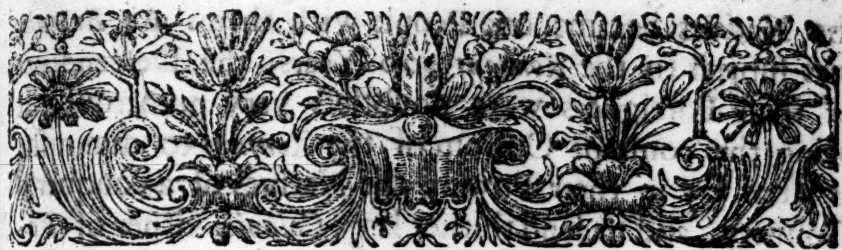


U

T H E

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some faint smudges and discoloration, characteristic of old paper. The left edge of the page shows the binding of the book, and the overall tone is a warm, off-white or light beige.





# THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

## BOOK III.

*The State of Great-Britain after the Conquest of the Saxons. Of the Heptarchy in general. The History of each of the Seven Kingdoms in particular. How at length Six of the Seven Kingdoms were united to That of the West-Saxons, and became one Kingdom under Egbert, the first King of England. A large Account (wherein the main of the History of the Heptarchy consists) of the manner how the Christian Religion was establish'd, at several Times, in each of the Seven Kingdoms. The Founding of the Bishopricks, and other principal Matters relating to the Rising Church.*



THE Revolution caus'd by the Conquests of the *Anglo-Saxons*, introduc'd a new Face of Things in *Great-Britain*: The very Names of the Towns and Provinces were chang'd, and the Country divided in a very different manner from what it had been by the *Romans*. It will therefore be requisite before

we proceed, to take a short View of the State of the whole Island.

*Great-Britain*, canton'd out into several Kingdoms, *The State* was shar'd among four different Nations, *viz.* The *Britons* or *Welch*, the *Scots*, the *Picts* and the *Anglo-Saxons*. Under the *Britons* were compris'd, all those Foreigners, whether *Romans* or others, settled in the Island ever

since the Reign of *Claudius*, who being incorporated with the Natives became one People with them. As *Britain* was subject to the *Romans* 400 Years, the Descendents of these Foreigners were doubtless very numerous, it being the constant Custom of the *Romans* to diminish, as far as lay in their Power, the Natives of a conquer'd Country, and to send thither large *Colonies* either of *Veterans* or of People taken from their other Conquests. These *Colonies* were distinguished from the original Inhabitants, before the *Romans* abandon'd the Island. But when they came, in conjunction with the *Britons*, to defend themselves, first against the *Scots* and *Picts*, and afterwards against the *Saxons*, they were so confounded with the Natives, that they were never after that time distinguish'd from them in History. The *Vandals*, settled about *Cambridge*, were also reckon'd as *Britons*, and involv'd in the same Ruin with them. After the Establishment of the Seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the *Britons* had nothing left but *Cambria*, and the Western Part of *Danmonium*. The first of these (the Name formerly of all *Britain*) was chang'd by the *Saxons* into *Wales*. As for *Danmonium*, it was, in all appearance, a *Roman* Name. The *Britons* call'd it, *Kernaw*, from *Kern*, that is, *Horns*, because of the many *Promontories* that shoot out into the Sea like Horns. The *Saxons* gave it the name of *Cornwall*, that is to say, the Country of *Kernaw*, inhabited by *Gauls* or *Britons*. They seem'd to affect the erasing all Footsteps of the *Romans*, since they even call'd a People the *Romans* had nam'd *Britons* for 400 Years together, *Gauls*. The Natives kept their Footing for a good while in that Corner of the Island, as well as in *Wales*, till at length they were entirely subdu'd, as we shall see hereafter.

The North Parts of *Great-Britain* were in Possession of the *Picts* and *Scots*, separated from the *English* by the *Esk* and *Tweed*, and the Mountains between these two Rivers. The *Picts* were on the East and the *Scots* on the West Side. The Mountain of *Grantzaine* was their common Boundary, from the Mouth of the *Nid*, to the

the Lake of *Lomond*. *Aberneth*, now a small Town in the County of *Strathern*, was the Capital of the *Picts*, from whence the Bishop's Seat was remov'd to *St Andrews*. *Edinburgh* belong'd also to the *Picts*, and all that the *Saxons* possess'd beyond *Severus's Wall* was taken from them. The Territories of the *Scots* were extended towards the *North* and *West*, as far as the Sea that bounds the Island on these two Sides.

The *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Futtes*, all three comprehend'd under the Name of the *English*, had conquer'd all the Southern Part of Britain, from the *Channel* to the Wall of *Severus*, and somewhat beyond, towards the *East*. This was divided into Seven Kingdoms, whereof the *Saxons* and *Futtes* had Four; namely, *Kent*, *Essex*, *Sussex* and *Wessex*; the *Angles* alone had two, *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*; but in *Northumberland*, they were mix'd with the Descendents of the *Saxons* that first took possession of the Country beyond the *Humber*, under *Octa* and *Ebusa*.

The History of these Seven Kingdoms is what I am now going upon. To this End, I shall first make some Remarks on the *Heptarchy* in general. In the second Place I shall draw up a brief Account of each of the Seven Kingdoms in particular. Lastly, I shall exhibit in *Synchronical* Tables, the principal Events, that happen'd in each Kingdom, to the End the History of all the Seven Kingdoms together may be seen in one View.

By the HEPTARCHY is meant the Government of the Seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons*, consider'd as united into one *Body* and one *State*. The *Bond* of this Union was their *General in Chief*, or, if you will, their *Monarch*, chosen by the unanimous Consent of the Seven Kingdoms, and invest'd with certain *Prerogatives*, the Nature and Number of which we are not thoroughly inform'd of.

Besides their *Monarch*, they had also, as the Center of the *Heptarchical* Government, an *Assembly General*, consisting of the principal *Members* of the Seven Kingdoms, or their *Deputies*. This is what they call'd the *Wittenagemot*,

Of the  
HEP-  
TAR-  
CHY  
in general.



*genot*, wherein the Affairs, relating to the Nation in general, were debated and regulated. Each Kingdom had also its *Convention* or *Parliament*, as we see practis'd in the *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*. And altho' Each was *Sovereign* and *Independent*, yet were they All oblig'd to obey the Determinations of the *Assembly General*, because All gave their Consent to them. This was the Form of Government in the *Heptarchy*, on which I shall enlarge no farther here, designing to speak more fully to this matter in another Place.

But as *Times* and *Circumstances* often cause Alterations in the best *Constitutions*, it happen'd that the Ambition or Restlessness of their Kings did not suffer the *Anglo-Saxons* to remain long in that *Union* the Form of their Government suppos'd. The most Powerful very often took the Advantage of the Weakness of the others, to aggrandize themselves. Hence those frequent Wars among them, that ended in the Subversion of the *Heptarchy* and their Subjection under One.

Another Source of their Wars, was the Ambition of their *Monarchs*, who, not content with the *Privileges* annex'd to their Dignity, were for stretching them higher. Had the Historians that have writ of the *Heptarchy*, but given us an exact Account of the *Prerogatives* of the *Monarch*, we shou'd have been able to make some Judgment on the Causes of the Wars on this Head. But as they have only mark'd the Time and Success, without letting us know the Reasons or Motives of them, the History by this means is render'd very imperfect and incapable of being carried on regularly, as one wou'd wish, since the *Annals* give us only the bare Relation of Facts, without any manner of Connexion. All we can gather from them is, that the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings were naturally very restless and troublesome. But this Character is not peculiar to them, since in the following Ages there has been no greater Union among the Princes of *Europe*.

Besides these Wars, to which the *Annalists* have chiefly confin'd themselves, there were no doubt, many other agreeable and diverting Events, that wou'd have embel-

lish'd

lish'd and enliven'd their Histories. But unluckily these Writers were all *Monks*, who minded Nothing but the Foundations of Monasteries, and the Privileges granted to the Clergy. In doing this, they cou'd not help informing Posterity that there were in *England* seven different Kingdoms; whose Kings founded such and such Monasteries, and endow'd them with such and such Revenues and Immunities. By this Means they were induc'd to write a Kind of History of the *Heptarchy*, in order to make appear the Foundation of their Rights. But as this was their only Aim, they have given us little else besides the Succession of the Kings in the several Kingdoms, with some of their principal Actions. This is properly all the Assistance we have towards an History of the *Heptarchy*, the main Matter whereof relates to Affairs of Religion. Of which it will be necessary to say a few words.

When the *Saxons* arriv'd in *England*, they were all *Pagans*. Their Conversion began in 597. with the Kingdom of *Kent*, by *Austin* a *Benedictin* Monk, and ended in 653 with the Kingdom of *Mercia* by the Ministry of certain Missionaries from *Northumberland*. During these 56 Years taken up in propagating the Gospel, it happen'd that in some of the Seven Kingdoms, *Christianity*, after its first establishment, was so rooted out, that it was again to be replanted, as if it had never been known. This fell out in the Kingdoms of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, and *East-Anglia*. So that there was in *England* all along till the whole was converted, a mixture of *Christians* and *Idolaters*; Some of the Kingdoms being converted, whilst Others remain'd in *Paganism*; Neither were all of the same Kingdom converted at the same time.

*Austin* preach'd to the *Saxons* in *Kent*, *Mellitus* to the *East-Saxons*, *Paulinus* to the *Northumbrians*, *Birinus* to the *West-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* to the *South-Saxons*, *Felix* to the *East-Angles*, and the *Northern Monks* to the *Mercians*. These preach'd not all with the same Success, because the Circumstances of Affairs were not every where alike

alike favorable. However, in about 60 Years after the Coming of *Austin*, All *England* was converted. But no more of this till I come to speak more largely of the Church of each Kingdom.

I have one Remark more to make, which is, that the Monks in converting the *Anglo-Saxons* took care to inspire them with a Reverence for *Monasteries* and the *Monastick* Life. They wrought so upon the Minds of the Kings and Grandees in this Respect, that it is astonishing, what Numbers of Monasteries from the Conversion of the *English* to the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, that is, in 200 Years, were founded in *England*, and what immense Riches the *Monks* had acquired in that time. Religion seem'd to consist wholly in enriching the *Monks*, and absolute Perfection in embracing a *Monastick* Life. Kings and Queens, Princes and Princesses, stript themselves of all their worldly Glory, and went and pass'd their Days in a Monastery; Some to expiate their enormous Crimes, others as believing it the readiest Way to Salvation. The Monks omitted nothing to keep up the Fervor of this Sort of Devotion; they loaded with Praises those who resolv'd to offer up such Sacrifices to God, and Sainted All that died in these pious Dispositions. Hence those numerous *He* and *She* Saints in the *Ecclesiastical* History of *England*, among whom are several Kings, who of all others were the best able to purchase a *Saintship* this Way.

After these general Remarks, I proceed now to the History of Each of the Seven Kingdoms in particular. I shall relate only things that are material, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the Dryness which usually accompanies the bare Recital of Matters of Fact.



## THE HISTORY of *Northumberland.*

**T**HE Kingdom of *Northumberland* was situated on the *North* of the *Humber*, as its Name imports. It was bounded to the *South* by that River, to the *West* by the *Irish* Sea, to the *North* by the Country of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and to the *East* by the *German* Ocean. It contain'd six Counties, *Lancashire*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Northumberland*, *York*, and *Durham*. The principal Cities were *York*, *Dunelm*, since call'd, *Durham*, *Carlisle*, nam'd by the Romans *Luguballia*, *Hexham* or *Hagulstadt*, *Lancaster*, and some others of less Note. The greatest Length of this Kingdom was 160 Miles, and its greatest Breadth, 60.

NORTH-  
UMBER-  
LAND,  
its Bounds.

*IDA*, the first King began his Reign in 547, and died in 559. After his Death, *Northumberland* was divided into two Kingdoms, namely, *Bernicia*, or the Northern Part, reaching from the *Wall of Severus* to the Mouth of the *Tweed*, and *Deira*, or the Southern Part. *Adda*, the Son of *Ida*, was King of *Bernicia*, and *Alla*, of *Deira*. To *Adda* succeeded *Glappa* in 566, to him *Fridulph* in 572, to him *Theodorick*, in 579, to him *Athelrick* in 586.

IDA  
547.

ADDA of  
Bernicia.  
ALLA of  
Deira.

There is Nothing known of these Kings but the time of their Death. *Athelrick* being very old when he came to the Crown, *Adelfrid* his Son govern'd the Kingdom in his Name, without the Title of King; and having espous'd *Acca* the Daughter of *Alla* King of *Deira*, who died in 588, got possession of that Kingdom,

dom, tho' *Alla* left behind him a Son about three Years old, named *Edwin*.

ADEL-  
FRID

590.

613.  
Bede, l. 2.  
c. 2.

*ADELFRID* \*, succeeding his Father in 590, became very powerful and formidable to his Neighbours, particularly to the *Welsh*, as well as to the *Scots* and *Picts*. But of these Wars we have only this remarkable Particular. *Adelfrid* preparing to lay siege to *Chester* then in the Hands of the *Welsh*, these Last were resolv'd to give him Battle; and in order to procure the Blessing of God on their Arms, twelve hundred and fifty Monks from the Monastery of *Bangor* were order'd to pray near the Field of Battle, all the while the Fight lasted. These *Monks* making too much haste to the appointed Place, were met by *Adelfrid*, who being inform'd of the Reason of their leaving their Monastery, put them All to the Sword. This Massacre was follow'd with a signal Victory over the *Welsh*; after which *Adelfrid* enter'd into *Wales*, and entirely demolish'd the Monastery of *Bangor*, where was still above 1000 Monks, since *Bede* assures us they were divided into seven *Classes*, the least of which consisted of above 300. Two of the Gates of this immense Edifice were above a Mile asunder. As this Monastery was very antient and of great Fame, in all probability the Monks driven out of *Britain* by the *Saxons* had taken refuge there.

Bede, l. 2.  
c. 12.

Whilst *Adelfrid* was enlarging his Conquests, *Edwin*, the Son of *Alla* King of *Deira*, wander'd up and down, unable to procure any Assistance to recover his Father's Dominions. Hardly cou'd he find where to abide in safety: All dreaded to espouse the Cause of the distress'd Orphan, for fear of *Adelfrid*. At length, *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, taking pity on him, afforded him a Retreat at his Court. He was then about 30 Years old, handsome and well-made, and possess'd of such good Qualities as gain'd him the Love and Esteem of

\* *Adel*, *Athel*, *Ethel*, signify, *Famous* or *Noble*: *Fred*, *Frid*, *Fresh*, *Frith*, signify, *Peace*: *Adelfrid* or *Ethelfrid* (i. e.) famous for Peace: *Athelrick*, *Nobly Strong*; *Rick* signifying, *Strong* or *Powerful*.

of *Redowald*, and the Queen his Spouse. Scarce had he begun to enjoy the Sweets of his Retreat, when *Adelfrid* suspecting *Redowald* was forming some Design in favour of *Edwin*, sent Ambassadors to him, to desire him to deliver up *Edwin* or put him to Death, and in Case of his Refusal to proclaim War against him. *Redowald*, surpris'd at this, was some time before he cou'd resolve what to do. As his Forces were not equal to the King of *Northumberland's*, he dreaded the giving him a Pretence for a War. On the other hand, Honor, Honesty, the Laws of Hospitality, the Innocence of *Edwin*, all pleaded against his delivering him up to his Enemy that sought his Life. To this he added, the debasing himself in submitting to the Orders of One that had no Right to command him. These different Considerations made him extremely uneasy and wavering, whether he shou'd act the generous Part, or as his Interest led him.

Whilst *Redowald* was thus in Suspence, *Edwin*, whom the Queen had inform'd of the Irresolution of the King, was in great perplexity of Mind. For 27 Years he had been a Wanderer without any fixt Abode but what the King of *East-Anglia* had generously granted him, which now by reason of its Neighborhood to *Northumberland* was like to prove fatal to him. He saw his Ruin was unavoidable, if *Redowald* gave him up to his Enemy, but on the other hand, his Irresolution made him hope for some lucky Turn in his Favour. He consider'd if *Redowald* was determin'd to protect him, the War, that wou'd infallibly follow, might give him an Opportunity of mounting his Father's Throne. Besides, he was not sure of avoiding by Flight the Danger that threatned him, or of finding elsewhere a safe Retreat. He resolv'd therefore to wait the Event, and trust to the Generosity of *Redowald*, who as yet seem'd unresolv'd what to do. *Redowald* was naturally of a generous Temper; but the Fear of drawing on himself a War, that appear'd to him so dangerous, made him at last resolve to sacrifice



*Edwin* to the Interest of the Publick. *Edwin*, inform'd of this by the Queen, thought himself lost past all Redemption, knowing *Redowald* had taken Care to prevent his saving himself by Flight.

Hitherto, nothing but what is natural has been related of *Edwin*. But in the Days of *Bede*, who hath given us a large Account of this Prince's Adventures, Miracles were so much in Fashion, that there was no remarkable Event in History, but what was accompanied with some *Prodigy* or *Apparition*. Accordingly this Writer, who seems a little too credulous in this matter, was unwilling to miss an opportunity of gracing his Ecclesiastical History with a miraculous Event, which as he says, he had from some *Old Men* in his time. Besides, being himself a *Saxon*, and born in *Northumberland*, a Miracle wrought in favour of the first Christian King of that Kingdom, cou'd not but redound to the Honour of his Country. Had not Historians affected to copy it from him, I shou'd readily have omitted it, as I have done several others, that are no better attested than this, in his Works. So leaving every one to believe as he pleases, I shall go on with the History of *Edwin* as related by *Bede*.

*Edwin*, after his melancholy News from the Queen, went and walk'd in the Palace-Garden during the Night, in order to consider of his Affairs. Whilst he was deeply buried in Thought, he saw a Man, habited in an extraordinary manner, coming towards him, who ask'd him what kept him thus awake, when all the World was asleep. The Prince answer'd him, he was surpris'd to see a Stranger so inquisitive about the Affairs of one that was unknown to him, *Think not*, replied the Stranger, *that I am ignorant of what employs your Thoughts: I know all that has befallen you to this Hour, and I am come to bring you Consolation in your Misfortunes. What now will you give to him that shall assure you of one Day mounting the Throne, and becoming the most Powerful and Glorious King that has hitherto reign'd*

in England? *If ever that happens, answer'd Edwin, I will liberally reward all that shall have done me any Service, as well as the Person that foretells my good Fortune. He who is able and willing to raise you to this Height of Grandeur,* continued the Stranger, *requires nothing of you, but to embrace his Doctrine and obey his Precepts. I shou'd be a Wretch indeed,* replied Edwin, *should I refuse to be rul'd by so true a Friend.* Then the Stranger laying his Hand on the Prince's Head, told him; *Fix in your Mind what I am now doing, and when the Like shall happen to you, think then of performing your Promise without Delay.* Upon saying these Words, the Stranger disappear'd in an extraordinary manner, in order to convince Edwin there was something *Supernatural* in this Adventure (a).

Edwin's Surprise was still increas'd by the coming of a Messenger from the Queen to let him know *Redowald* had alter'd his Mind. She had so lively represented to him the Horror of the Action he was about to commit, that he was resolv'd to run all Risks rather than be instrumental in oppressing the Innocent. Accordingly he told the Embassadors that he cou'd not think of delivering up Edwin, much less of putting an innocent Prince to Death, that had sought for Refuge in his Palace. As he did not question, knowing the fiery and haughty Temper of *Adelfrid*, but that a bloody War wou'd ensue, He resolv'd to be before-hand with him, and carry the War into *Northumberland*, imagining *Adelfrid*, not expecting to be attack'd, might be surpris'd before he cou'd get his Forces together. An Army was levied with all speed, and divided into three Bodies, that were to march at some distance from one another. The Command of the First was given to *Reyner* his eldest Son, with Orders to march before to secure a certain Pass. He follow'd himself at the Head of the Second, leaving Edwin in the Rear to bring up the Third. *Reyner,*

(a) *Us ferunt, repente disparait. Bede.*

*ner*, desirous of signalizing himself by some brave Action, by speedy Marches, contrary to his Orders, hop'd to come upon *Adelfreid* before he was ready for him. And indeed, *Adelfreid* had not assembled all his Forces; but finding *Reyner* was too far advanc'd, took the Advantage of his Rashness, and attack'd him, before it was in the power of *Redowald* to join him. As the ill Conduct of *Reyner* was entirely owing to his Excess of Courage, he sustain'd the Attacks of *Adelfreid* with a great deal of Bravery; but having too much expos'd himself to Danger, was slain, and his Army put to Rout.

*Redowald*, enrag'd at the loss of his Son, thought of nothing but Revenge. Having joined *Edwin*, he march'd with all Expedition to attack the Enemy, who had not time to retreat; which however *Adelfreid* wou'd not have done, after all his proud Threats, had it been in his Power: And therefore, instead of retreating, he fiercely march'd towards the *East-Angles*. The two Armies soon came to an Engagement. *Adelfreid* perform'd Wonders, to preserve his Reputation; and finding he was over-power'd by Numbers, chose rather to dye, than out-live the Shame of his Defeat. With this Resolution he threw himself among the Thickest of his Enemies, and fell in the midst of their Ranks, cover'd over with Wounds. The *Northumbrians* immediately threw down their Arms, and betook themselves to Flight.

After this great Victory, to which *Edwin* had not a little contributed, *Redowald* march'd into *Northumberland* without any Opposition. *Adelfrid* had left behind him three Sons, *Anfrid*, *Oswald*, and *Oswy*, who fled into *Scotland*. The *Northumbrians*, thus abandon'd, without a General, or Army, submitted themselves to *Redowald*. This generous Prince wou'd neither punish them for the Insolence of their King, nor take the Advantage his Victory put into his Hands, of seizing their Kingdom. Out of a Greatness of Soul, uncommon in those days, he not only gave *Edwin* the Kingdom of *Deira*, to which he had some Pretensions, but likewise that of

*Bernicia,*



*Bernicia*, reserving to himself nothing but the Glory of so generous an Action; for which, and upon account of his late Victory, he obtain'd the Dignity of *Monarch* then vacant.

*EDWIN*, who a little before was an object of Pity, by one of those surprizing and unforeseen Turns, where-<sup>617.</sup> in the Hand of Heaven is visible, saw himself on a sudden at the Head of a powerful Kingdom. God, as appear'd by the Sequel, was pleas'd to raise him up that he might be instrumental in propagating the Gospel in *Northumberland*, as *Ethelbert* had been before him in *Kent*; as we shall see at large in the History of the Church. *EDWIN* \*

Upon the Death of *Redowald*, in 624, *Edwin* set up for the Monarchy; and indeed there was no one in a condition to dispute the Prize with him, but *Cinigisil* and *Quicelm*, joint-Kings of the *West-Saxons*. *Quicelm* especially oppos'd him to the utmost of his Power, and by that means drew upon himself a War, which endanger'd the loss of his Dominions, and made him humbly sue for Peace. *Edwin* meeting with no further Opposition, was elected Monarch. The very *Welsh*, to prevent an Invasion they were threatned with by *Edwin*, consented to pay him Tribute.

This Prince carried the *Prerogatives* of the Monarchy higher than any of his Predecessors. He asserted an absolute Power over the other Kings, and treated them with little or no Respect. He show'd the greatest Regard for *Ebald* King of *Kent*, whose Sister *Ethelburga*, a Princess of great worth, he design'd to espouse. He imagin'd his being Monarch would have made his Proposal to be gladly receiv'd; but he met with more difficulty in the matter than he expected. *Ethelburga*, being a zealous Christian, cou'd not bear the Thoughts of marrying

674.

\* *Ed* or *Ead* (i. e.) Happy, Blessed. *Win* or *Wine*, (i. e.) War, or Beloved.

625.

marrying an Idolatrous Prince, tho' never so much to her Advantage. Her Brother was no less averse to the Match, and refus'd to give his Consent, unless his Sister had free Liberty publickly to profess her Religion. Tho' this seem'd hard to the Monarch, yet the Desire of possessing so accomplish'd a Princess made him stoop to all they requir'd of him. On the other hand, *Ethelburga* was brought to consent, by being put in hopes she wou'd have it in her Power to convert her Spouse and his Subjects, as *Bertha* her Mother had done before her in *Kent*. Matters being settled, *Ethelburga* departed for *Northumberland*, accompanied with some Ecclesiasticks, particularly *Paulinus*, consecrated Bishop by *Justus* Archbishop of *York*. This was the *Paulinus* that brought over *Edwin* and the *Northumbrians* to the Christian Religion, as will be fully related in the State of the Church.

*Edwin* for several Years enjoy'd a profound Quiet, being both fear'd and esteem'd by all the Kings of the *Heptarchy*. He took the opportunity of these peaceable Times, not only to maintain his Dominion over the other Kings, but also to enact wholesome Laws, which he caus'd to be strictly observ'd. Historians remark, that in his Reign, Justice was administred with that Impartiality and Rigour, that a Child might have gone over his whole Kingdom with a Purse of Gold in his Hand, without any danger of Robbing. But his chiefest Care was, after his Conversion, to spread the Christian Religion in Places where it was not known, and to replant it, where it had been abolish'd. By his Instigation, perhaps by his absolute Order, it was, that *Erpwald* King of the *East-Angles*, gave leave for the Gospel to be preach'd anew in his Dominions, and at length became a Christian himself. *Edwin*, who cou'd but ill brook the least Opposition to his Will, assum'd an Authority over the rest of the Kings, of which he was extremely jealous. By having an Ensign carried before him in the Form of a Globe (a), as a Symbol of the U-

nion

(a) In Latin *Tuffa*; *Lipsius* or *Vegetius*, speaks of it.

nion of the *Heptarchical* Government in his Person, he gave them to understand, he wou'd be look'd upon, not only as their Head, but as their Master.

Of all the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, was the most uneasy under the Yoke, as he look'd upon it to be, of the King of *Northumberland*. And therefore, not daring to attempt it alone, he impatiently waited for a favourable Opportunity to shake it off. At length coming to know that *Cadwallo* King of *Wales*, who thought it a dishonourable thing to pay Tribute to a foreign Prince, was in the same Circumstances with himself, enter'd into a Confederacy with him against *Edwin*. As their Preparations were publick, *Edwin* was resolv'd to be before-hand with them if possible. Accordingly he advanc'd as far as *Heath-field*, where meeting the two Kings, they came to an Engagement. The Battle was fought on both Sides with desperate Fury: The *Mercians* and *Welsh* confiding in their Numbers, and the *Northumbrians* in the Valour of their King, *Edwin* by his Courage and Conduct balanc'd the Odds his Enemies had of him, and kept the Fight in an equal Poise, till a fatal Accident made him lose that Presence of Mind he had always preserv'd, and then more than ever necessary. *Offrid*, his eldest Son, bravely seconding him, was slain at his Feet by an Arrow, which put him into such a Rage, that he flew among the thickest of his Enemies, without minding whether he was follow'd by his Soldiers. He was immediately run thro' in many places, and with his Life lost the Victory.

<sup>633.</sup>  
Bede, l. 2.  
c. 2.

Thus fell *Edwin*, in the 48th Year of his Age, the 16th of his Reign, and the 9th of his Monarchy. By his first Wife, Daughter to *Cearlus* King of *Mercia*, he had two Sons, *Offrid* and *Effrid*. By his second, *Ethelburga* of *Kent*, he had two Sons, and two Daughters, who all died in their Infancy, except *Ansfleda*, Wife to

Y

Oswy



*Oswy* King of Northumberland. *Edwin* resided at *Deventio*, now *Aulaby* \* in Yorkshire.  
 \* 6 Miles from York.

INTER-  
REG-  
NUM.

Bede, l. 2.  
c. 20.

Thorn.  
Hist. Abb.  
Canterb.  
Cam. in  
Kent.

The two Kings proceeded after their Victory to exercise all imaginable Cruelties. They enter'd *Northumberland* and ravag'd the Country in a terrible manner. The *Welsh*, as much Christians as they were, carried their Barbarity to that height, that *Effrid*, Son to *Edwin*, dreading to fall into their hands, went and surrender'd himself to *Penda*, who receiv'd him at first with some Civility, but afterwards order'd him to be slain in his Presence. *Ethelburga* and *Paulinus* fled to the King of *Kent*, who gave his Sister some Lands to found a Monastery, where she pass'd the residue of her Days. As for *Paulinus* he was made Bishop of *Rocheſter*.

The *Northumbrians* were so weaken'd by their Defeat, and the Cruelty or rather Fury of the two Kings, that they remain'd a long time before they cou'd recover themselves. At length, seeing no end to their Misfortunes, they judg'd it more honourable to dye with their Swords in their Hands, than to perish by the Barbarity of the two Tyrants, who breath'd nothing but blood and slaughter. But when they came to elect a King, the old Jealousies between the *Bernicians* and *Deirans* reviving, they cou'd not agree upon choosing a King in common. The Men of *Deira* chose *Osrick*, a Relation of *Edwin's*; and the *Bernicians*, *Anfrid*. This last, after the Death of *Adelfrid* his Father, had retir'd into *Scotland* with *Oswald* and *Oswy* his Brothers, where they had been all three Baptiz'd.

These

These two Kings were no sooner on the Throne, but they apostatis'd from the Christian Religion. But if their Revolt from God was sudden, their Punishment was no less so, being both slain in the first Year of their Reign. *Osrick*, rashly besieging *Cadwallo*, in *York*, with an Army of undisciplin'd Troops, the *Welsh* King, disdain'd to be thus brav'd, sallied out and attack'd him so briskly, that he put his Army to Rout, and left him dead on the Spot. Then marching against the King of *Bernicia*, who was at the head of 12,000 Men, and amusing him with Propositions of Peace, till he had got him in his Reach, fell upon him when he little expected it, and made a terrible slaughter of the *Northumbrians*, *Anfrid* himself being killed in the Battel.

633.  
OSRICK  
in Deira.  
ANFRID  
in Bernicia.

634.  
G. Mal-  
mesb. l. i.  
c. 3.

It is easy to guess at the wretched Condition *Northumberland* was in, after so many successive Losses. *Cadwallo's* Rage, being heightened by the Struggles the *Northumbrians* had made, seem'd incapable of being glutted with less than the entire Destruction of the miserable Nation. His barbarities at length rous'd up *Oswald*, Brother to *Anfrid* to hazard All, in order to relieve a People so cruelly oppress'd. To this End he muster'd together a small Body of Forces, with which he boldly oppos'd the Usurper. Tho' the King of *Mercia* was return'd to his own Kingdom, *Cadwallo*, looking upon *Oswald's* Army with the utmost Contempt, march'd against him, not doubting of Success. *Oswald* being inform'd of his Approach, intrench'd himself on an advantageous Piece of Ground, expecting his Coming. But as he relied more on the Assistance of Heaven, than on his own Strength, he erected a Cross before the Camp,

INTER-  
REG-  
NUM.

and falling down on his Knees, together with the whole Army, humbly implor'd a Blessing on his Arms. In the mean time, *Cadwallo* advanc'd full of Confidence, making no question but his Numbers wou'd give him the Victory. Pleasing himself with the Thoughts of satisfying his Fury, he attempted in Person, in order to encourage his Men, to force their Retrenchments; which whilst he was endeavouring to do, he was shot thro' the Body with an Arrow, which put an End to his Projects with his Life. His Death caus'd a great Disorder among his Troops, who began by degrees to retreat. Then the *Northumbrians* issuing out from their Retrenchments, fell upon their Enemies with that Vigor, that they entirely routed them. The Protection of Heaven appear'd so visibly in favour of the *English*, that the Field of Battle was call'd *Heafen-field*, now *Haledon*.

634.  
OSWALD  
Flor. Wi-  
gorn.  
M. West.

After this great Victory, *Oswald* became possess'd of the two Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, to which he was Heir to *Bernicia* by *Adelfrid* his Father, and to *Deira* by *Acca* his Mother, Sister to *Edwin*. He was the most knowing as well as most pious Prince of his Age, having been instructed in the Christian Religion whilst in *Scotland*. His strict Virtue, great Humility, and Zeal for the advancement of the true Religion, gain'd him so the Love and Esteem of his Subjects, that they reverenc'd him as a Saint after his Death. He had the Satisfaction and good Luck to free his Country from the Tyranny of *Cadwallo*, and to reunite the two Kingdoms of *Northumberland*; he was moreover elected Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*. It is said also that the *Welsh*, *Scots* and *Picts* were tributary to him. He took particular Care to restore the Christian Religion in his Dominions, from whence the late Troubles had entirely banish'd it.

*Penda,*



*Penda*, King of *Mercia*, out of his haughty and restless Temper, cou'd not bear to see *Oswald* his Superior, as Monarch, and therefore took up Arms without declaring War, in order to surprize him. *Oswald* knowing of what consequence it was to be sudden in opposing his Designs, us'd all Expedition to come upon him before he had got his Army together. *Penda*, taking the Advantage of his Haste, by the means of which he had the Odds of him in Numbers, gave him Battel, and obtain'd a Signal Victory, which wou'd have redounded more to his Glory had he not sullied it by his Cruelties. The Body of *Oswald*, who was slain in the Fight, being found among the Dead, the inhuman Conqueror cut it in several Pieces, and fixing them on Stakes, erected them in the Field of Battle like so many *Trophies*. This Battle was fought at *Osweestree* \*. *Oswald* left a Son behind him call'd *Adelwalt*, some time after King of *Deira*. \* Shropshire.

*Penda*, after his Victory, acted as barbarously as usual. When he had ravag'd *Northumberland*, he had a mind to lay siege to *Bamborough*, a strong Town built by *Ida*, where meeting with greater Resistance than he expected, he resolv'd to reduce it to Ashes. To that end, having laid under the Walls a prodigious quantity of Wood, he set fire to it as soon as the Wind favour'd his Design. But hardly was the Fire lighted before the Wind tack'd about, and blew the Flame directly into his Camp, by which the Besiegers were great Sufferers. This Stratagem failing, he rais'd the Siege, and quitting *Northumberland*, carried the War into *East-Anglia*. Upon *Penda*'s Retreat, the *Bernicians* place *Oswy* the Brother of *Oswald* upon the Throne; and the Year after *Oswin*, the Son of *Ofrick* slain by *Cadwalla*, was crown'd King of *Deira*.

643.  
OSWY  
in Bernicia.

644.  
OSWIN  
in Deira.

650.  
G. Mal-  
me b. l. 1.  
c. 3.

651.  
Bede, l. 3.  
c. 14.

OSWY thought he was very unjustly dealt by, in being depriv'd of Part of his Brother's Dominions; but as he dreaded another Invasion from *Penda*, it was no time to think of righting himself. But as soon as he found the King of *Mercia* was otherwise engag'd, he asserted his Claim to the Kingdom of *Deira*, which oblig'd *Oswin* to take up Arms in his own Defence, after he had tried several Ways to give him satisfaction. He was a mild and peaceable Prince, more devout than brave, and tho' drawn into the War purely by Necessity, yet for all that he cou'd not get over the Scruples it caus'd in his Conscience. He verily believ'd, the shedding his Subjects Blood in his Quarrel, was the greatest of Sins, and therefore withdrawing himself privately from his Army, he retir'd to a certain Count's House, whom he thought his best Friend, with a design to betake himself to some Monastery: But before he cou'd put his Project in Execution, his treacherous Friend discover'd him to *Oswy*, who order'd him to be inhumanely murder'd, in hopes of coming at his Kingdom with the greater Ease. This barbarous Action had not the Effect he propos'd. The People of *Deira* exasperated against him, and dreading to fall under the Dominion of so cruel a Prince, immediately set *Adelwalt*, Son to *Oswald* his Brother, upon the Throne, who knew better how to defend himself than his Predecessor. Some time after, *OSWY*, touch'd with Remorse, founded a Monastery in the very Place where *Oswin* was murder'd, flattering himself he shou'd atone for his Crime by this slight Penance.

O S W Y

OSWY still keeping up his Pretensions to the Crown of *Deira*, it was hardly possible for him and *Adelwalt*, tho' so near Relations, to live in Friendship. *Adelwalt*, thinking it his best way to put himself out of all reach of Danger from his Uncle, enter'd into an Alliance with the Kings of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, against *Oswy*. *Penda*, tho' 70 Years old, was the Author of this League. *Oswy*, being inform'd of their Proceedings, did all that lay in his Power to divert the impending Storm, even to the offering Money to *Penda*, to bribe him to desist from his Enterprize. But all wou'd not do, *Penda*, irreconcilable Enemy to the *Northumbrians*, thought he had now an Opportunity of gratifying his Passion. *Oswy* therefore found he was oblig'd to stand alone against all Three, whose united Forces cou'd not but inspire him with some Dread. In this Extremity, he made a Vow to found a dozen Monasteries and make one of his Daughters a Nun, if God wou'd give him the Victory. To this Vow it is that Historians attribute the Success God was pleas'd to vouchsafe him in this War.

OSWY  
still in  
Bernicia.  
652.  
ADEL-  
WALT  
in Deira.

655.  
G. Malms.  
l. i. c. 4.

Whilst the two Armies were advancing towards one another, *Adelwalt* began to consider that to which Side soever the Victory fell, it wou'd prove equally dangerous to him, since he had the same Reason to fear his being deprived of his Dominions by *Penda* as by *Oswy*: And therefore he was resolv'd to stand Neuter during the Fight, that he might be in a condition to defend himself against the Conqueror. *Penda*, who had not div'd into *Adelwalt*'s Design, boldly attack'd the King of *Bernicia*, not doubting of being seconded by the *Deirians* and *East-Anglians*. But when the *Mercians* saw *Adelwalt* draw off his Troops, their Ardor abated, and thinking they were betray'd, began to give Ground. The Kings of *Mercia* and

*East-*



Bede, l. 7.  
c. 24.

*East-Anglia* did their utmost to buoy up the Courage of the frightned Soldiers ; but being both slain in endeavouring to renew the Fight, their Army was put to Rout. This Battle was fought in *York-shire* on the Banks of the *Aire*, and the Place was afterwards call'd *Wimwidfield* \*.

After this Victory, *Oswy*, without loss of time march'd into *Mercia*, and became Master of that Kingdom, which he enjoy'd but three Years. During that time, the Monarchy, vacant ever since the Death of *Oswald* his Brother, was conferr'd upon him. *Penda* was the only One that had the best Right to it, but at the same time he was the most dangerous Person to be entrusted with it. *Oswy* held *Mercia*, by right of Conquest, whilst the Sons of *Penda* were forc'd to seek for Refuge among their Friends. Their Disgrace wou'd have been of longer Continuance, had not the rigorous Proceedings of *Oswy*'s Officers compell'd the *Mercians* to take up Arms. They had concerted their Measures so well, that when *Oswy* thought nothing of the matter, the *Northumbrians* were on a sudden drove out of *Mercia*, and *Wolpher* the Son of *Penda* plac'd on the Throne.

A few Years after, *Oswy* had some Amends made him for his Loss, by the acquisition of *Deira*, after the Death of *Adelwalt*, who died without Heirs. Thus *Northumberland* was once more united into one Kingdom.

OSWY  
alone.

However it did not long continue so. The tender Affection *Oswy* had for *Alfred* his natural Son, induc'd him to make him King of *Deira*, which was not much to the Peoples liking.

O S W Y

\* (i. e.) The Field of Victory, Leeds.

OSWY, after he had reigned 28 Years, died in 670. OSWY in  
In the Beginning of his Reign he was imbroil'd in Bevnica.  
Wars, but getting over Them he at length enjoy'd some ALFRED  
Quiet. Bede, for what Reasons I shall observe in the in Deira.  
History of the Church, ranks him among the most illustrious Kings of the *Heptarchy*, tho' the Murder of *Os-  
win* had very much sullied his good Name. By *Anfle-  
da*, Daughter to *Edwin*, he had two Sons and three  
Daughters. *Egfrid* his Son succeeded him both in his  
Kingdom and in the Monarchy of the *Anglo-Saxons*.  
The *Deirians*, upon *Oswy's* Death, revolted against *Al-  
fred*, and submitted themselves to *Egfrid*, who by that  
means became King of all *Northumberland*. *Alfred* re-  
tir'd into *Ireland*, where he applied himself to his Studies,  
waiting for a favorable opportunity to recover his Do-  
minions.

EGFRID, tho' he came to the Crown young, soon 670.  
made himself esteem'd and fear'd. The *Picts*, invading EGFRID  
his Territories, were defeated by him several times, and G. Malm.  
forc'd in the End to purchase a Peace with Part of their l. 3. de  
Country. *Wulpher*, King of *Mercia*, had a mind also Pontiff.  
to make some Conquests in *Northumberland*: but before  
the War was over he thought himself well off with the  
Preservation of his own Dominions. These Successes,  
procur'd *Egfrid* the Monarchy, which his Father had en-  
joy'd before him.

In the Year 684, he made a Descent upon *Ireland*, un- 684.  
der the Conduct of *Bertfrid*, whose Cruelties to the *Irish*, Bede, l. 4.  
especially his not sparing their very Churches and Monas-  
teries, was the Reason this Expedition prov'd unsuccess-  
ful. The *Irish* recovering out of their first Fright, de-  
fended themselves so well, that *Bertfrid* was forc'd to re-  
turn home with his almost ruin'd Army.

*Egfrid* finding nothing was to be got from that Quar-  
ter, resolv'd to enlarge his Bounds towards the *North*, and  
to that End, invaded the *Picts* when they little expected  
it. For which reason they betook themselves to their  
Bogs and Fens, to avoid the first Attacks of their Ene-  
mies. *Egfrid* was so unwise as to follow them, and lead  
his

his Men thro' unknown long and narrow Places, from whence he cou'd not get them off again. Upon which the *Picts*, who were perfectly acquainted with the Country, harra's'd his hunger-starv'd Troops in such a Manner, that he lost above Half his Army. And after all was fain, upon very unequal Terms, to come to an Engagement, wherein he lost his life, in the 40th Year of his Age, and 14th of his Reign.

*Egfrid* had been twice married; *Adelfrida* his first Wife, Daughter to *Annas* King of the *East-Angles*, and Widow to an *English* Lord, nam'd *Thombert*, is said to remain a Virgin, tho' she had two Husbands, and at last to be entirely separated from *Egfrid*. She founded a Monastery at *Ely*, and was the first *Abbess* her self. She was reverenc'd in *England* by the Name of *St. Auldry*.

After the Death of *Egfrid* and Loss of his Army, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* never made that Figure it had done before. The *Picts* improv'd their Victory by the Conquests of Part of *Bernicia*, which lay convenient for Them. And the *Welsh* possess'd themselves of the two Provinces, that formerly made up the Kingdom of *Arclute*, and out of them erected the Kingdoms of *Lennox* and *Cumberland*, the first of which was retaken from them some Years after.

*Egfrid* leaving no Issue, the *Northumbrians* call'd home *Alfred* from *Ireland*, and made him King of both their Kingdoms, which from that time remain'd united ever after.

685. The *Picts* and *Welch* having had time to secure their  
 ALFRED. Conquests, before *Alfred* was settled in his Throne, it  
 Bede, l. 4. was not possible for him to recover them out of their  
 Hands. All he cou'd do, was to defend, tho' not  
 without difficulty, the Rest of his Dominions from  
 the Attacks of his Neighbours. The Monarchy of  
 the *Anglo-Saxons* went to the Kings of *Wessex*.

705. *Alfred* ended his Days in 705, after a 20 Years Reign.  
 Ann. Sax. He left *Osred* his Son to succeed him at 8 years of Age,  
 Flor. Wig. under the Tuition of a Lord, nam'd *Brithrick*.



The *Minorities* of Princes being generally attended with Troubles, it happen'd in the Beginning of This, that *Eduiph*, a certain Lord of the Country, taking the Advantage of *Ofred's* Youth, made an Attempt upon the Crown. A powerful Party having own'd him for their King, *Ofred* and his *Guardian* were oblig'd to shut themselves up in *Bamborough-Castle*, where they were immediately besieged by *Eduiph*. The Length of the Siege having given *Brithrick* time to look about him, and his Friends an opportunity of rising in favour of their Lawful King, *Eduiph* found himself deserted on a sudden, and forc'd to raise the Siege in Confusion and Hurry. Upon which *Brithrick* sallying out in pursuit of the U-  
surper, took him Prisoner, and order'd him to be be-  
headed, about two Months after his Revolt.

OSRED.  
G. Malm.  
l. 3. de  
Pont.

Bede. l. 5.  
Fl. Wig.

Flor. Wig.

As soon as *Ofred* became his own Master, he fell in-  
to a wicked and lewd Course of Life; but especially, he  
had little or no Regard for the Monks, which was look'd  
upon *Then* as the Height of Impiety. He is said to  
make no scruple of debauching the *Nuns*, and even forc-  
ing them, when he cou'd not prevail by fair Means.  
Tho' it is not certain whether This Accusation were  
true or not, yet it prov'd of very ill Consequence.  
Ever since *Alfred*, *Osny's* Natural Son, came to the  
Crown, all the Bastards of the Kings, or their Descen-  
dents, imagin'd they had the same Right to aspire to the  
Throne. This prov'd the Source of many Troubles  
in the Kingdom. *Kenred* and *Ofrick*, Descendents of  
*Ogga* natural Son to *Ida*, seeing *Ofred* was neither es-  
teem'd nor belov'd, form'd a Party against him, which  
was abett'd to the utmost of their Power, by the *Regular*  
and *Secular* Clergy, whose Interest it was to have a  
Change in the Government. This Party became at  
length so strong, as to be in a Condition to give *Ofred*  
Battle, wherein he was slain, in the 19th Year of his Age  
and 11th of his Reign.

716.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 3.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 2.

*KENRED*, the principal Author of the Revolt,  
succeeded him, and died in the 2d Year of his Reign.

716.  
KEN-  
RED.

OSRICK. *OSRICK*, who had assisted him in obtaining the Crown, mounted the Throne, and reigning 11 Years without doing any Thing remarkable, left the Crown to

CEOLWULF. *CEOLWULF* his Relation, who turning Monk in the 7th or 8th Year of his Reign, pass'd the residue of his Days in the Monastery of *Lindisfarne*.

EDBERT. *EDBERT* succeeded him, who was invaded by the *Picts* immediately after his Coronation. This obliging him to march his Army towards the *North*, the King of *Mercia*, taking the advantage of his being at a Distance, fell upon the *Southern* Parts of *Northumberland*, and carried off great Booty.

756. *Edbert* towards the End of his Reign, having entred into a League with *Oengussa* King of the *Picts*, recover'd *Areclute*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Lennox*, taken by the *Welsh*, in the time of *Alfred*. *Deovama* General or Prince of the *Welsh*, endeavoring to raise the Siege, was defeated by the Confederate Kings. A little after This, *Edbert* retir'd into a Monastery, leaving his Crown to

OSULF. *OSULF* his Son, who was assassinated in the first Year of his Reign, in whose Room, though not of the Blood-Royal, was chosen

MOLLON-ADELWALD. *MOLLON-ADELWALD*, whose Election was the Cause of new Troubles in *Northumberland*, which ended at last in the Ruin of the Kingdom. The *Northumbrians* having taken a false step in placing on the Throne, one that was not of the Royal Family, All the *Great Men* thought they had a Right of putting in for the Crown, as well as the Princes of the Blood. Hence those many Factions, that tended at length to the entire loss of their Liberty. Some of the *Grandeess* finding *Mol on* had got himself chosen King by the means of a powerful Party, imagin'd they might make use of the same way to raise themselves. *Oswy*, who was one of them, led the way, but Death freed the King from this Competitor. Afterwards, *Alcred*, descended from *Ida* by *Alarick* one of his natural Sons, following the steps of *Oswy*, enter'd into a secret Conspiracy against the King, and having put him to Death, got himself crown'd in his stead.

*Mollon's*

*Mollon's* Faction, that had been very much humbled by his Death, having in time got the upper-hand again, *Alcred* was forc'd to fly to the King of the *Picts*, for fear of falling into their Hands. As soon as he was gone, *Ethelred* the Son of *Mollon* was plac'd on the Throne by his Father's Party.

As *Ethelred* had been rais'd to the Crown by the Interest of his Faction, he judg'd the best way to fix himself in the Throne, would be by the Death or Banishment of the Heads of the opposite Party. Accordingly, three of the principal Lords that had oppos'd his Election, were put to Death for forg'd or slight Crimes. But this Method serv'd only to hasten on the Plots of his Enemies, whom the Death of the three innocent Lords furnish'd with a plausible Pretence of taking up Arms. The King sending his best Troops against them under the Command of a General entirely devoted to his Service, was in hopes of speedily reducing them to Obedience. But his Army was overthrown by the Rebels. This Defeat, which was soon follow'd by a second, oblig'd him to fly for Refuge to some one of the neighboring Kingdoms. Upon which *Alfwald*, the Son of *Osulf*, and Grandson of *Edbert*, was placed on the Throne.

*ALFWALD* I. reign'd eleven Years with a great deal of Justice and Moderation: But however this did not prevent his being assassinated by one of the contrary Party. He was honour'd by his Followers as a *Saint* after his Death.

*OSRED* II. the Son of *Alcred*, was chosen in his Room, who became so contemptible, that he was shut up in a Monastery in the first Year of his Reign. *Ethelred's* Party had a great Hand in deposing *Osred*, and Interest enough to have him recall'd and plac'd again on the Throne, after a twelve Years Exile.

*ETHELRED* began his new Reign with two Acts of Cruelty, that mightily exasperated his Enemies against him. He put *Osred* his Predecessor to Death, who, as much a Monk as he was, gave him some Uneasiness:

And

ALCRED  
765.

ETHEL-  
RED.  
774

ALF-  
WALD.  
779.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 4.  
R. de Hov.

OSRED  
II. 789.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 3.

ETHEL-  
RED a-  
gain.



And then dispatch'd out of the way *Alphus* and *Alphwin*, Sons of the good King *Alfwald*.

794. During his Reign the *Danes* made a Descent into *Northumberland*, and burnt *Lindisfarne*-Monastery. Al-

795. lur'd by the Booty they had taken in their first Expedition, they came again the Year following and pillag'd *Tinmouth*-Monastery, founded by King *Egfrid*. *Ethelred*, by the Assistance of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, his Father-in-Law, prevented them from carrying their Ravages any farther, and drove them to their Ships; where almost all of them perish'd in a violent Storm on the *English* Coast.

The cruel and revengeful Temper of *Ethelred* had very much encreas'd the Hatred of the opposite Faction against him. However, without giving himself any Trouble about it, he went on with glutting his Revenge, and establishing himself in his Throne, by the Death or Banishment of those he was jealous of. At length, attempting to send *Ardulph*, one of the principal Lords of the Country into Exile, he drew a Civil-War upon himself. After it had lasted two Years, the *Malecontents*, finding they had taken a round-about Way to get rid of their King, had him assassinated. However his Faction was still powerful enough to place *Osald*, one of their own Party, on the Throne.

Sim. Du-  
nelm. Rog.  
Hov.

Alcuin. Ep. *Charlemain*, who was a Friend to *Ethelred*, was so  
G. Malm. incens'd at this Proceeding, that he was upon the Point  
l. i. c. 3. of proclaiming War against the *Northumbrians*, as we  
are inform'd by *Alcuin's* Letter to *Offa* King of *Mercia*.

OSBALD. Whilst All were taken up with the Publick Rejoycings  
796. at the Election of the new King, the opposite Party manag'd Matters so well, that *Osald* was dethron'd twenty seven Days after he was chosen, and *Ardulph* put in his Room.

AR-  
DULPH.  
796.

*ARDULPH* was in possession of the Throne only as his Faction at that time happen'd to be the strongest. However this prevented not the other Party from endeavoring frequently to get the upper-hand again. *Alfred* had left a Son behind him, nam'd *Alcunin*, who was  
the

the Head of this Party. This Prince beginning to grow formidable, *Ardulph* judg'd it necessary to sacrifice him to his Safety. His Death being look'd upon by his Friends as a Martyrdom, *Alcmund* was rank'd in the number of the *Saints*. But this was not all that follow'd upon his Death. It afforded the King's Enemies a Pretence of taking up Arms against him. But *Aldred* their General being vanquish'd and slain, the Malecontents remain'd quiet for some time, waiting for a more favorable Opportunity, which soon after fell out. For the opposite Party to the King became at length so powerful, that He was glad to escape out of their Hands, by flying to the Court of *Charlemain*, where the *English* were always welcome.

800.  
Sim. Du-  
nelm.

*ALFWALD* II. who had driven out *Ardulph*, was plac'd on the Throne, and dying after a two Years Reign, left the Crown to

ALF-  
WALD  
808.

*ANDRED*, in whose Reign *Northumberland* became subject to *Ecbert* King of the *West-Saxons*, who put an End to the *Heptarchy*.

ANDRED

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## The HISTORY of the Kingdom of *MERCIA*.

**T**HE Kingdom of *Mercia*, the finest and most considerable of the *Heptarchy*, was bounded on the North by the *Humber*, which separated it from *Northumberland*; on the West, by the *Severn*, beyond which were the *British* or *Welsh*; on the South, by the *Thames*, which divided it from the Kingdoms of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Wessex*; on the East, by the Kingdoms of *Essex* and *East-Anglia*. Thus *Mercia* was defended on three Sides, by three large Rivers, and serv'd for a Boundary to all the other

Kingdom of  
Mercia.

other Kingdoms. Hence the Name, *Mercia*, from the Saxon Word, *Merk*, which signifies a *Bound*, and not, as some have fancied, from an imaginary River call'd *Mercia*. The Inhabitants of this Kingdom are sometimes term'd, by Historians, *Mediterranei Angli*, or the *Mid-land English*, and sometimes *South-Humbrians*, as being South of the *Humber*: but the most common Name is That of *Mercians*. The Principal Cities of *Mercia*

\* Contain'd  
16 Coun-  
ties.

\* were, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, *Leicester*, *Coventry*, *Lichfield*, *Northampton*, *Worcester*, *Glocester*, *Darby*, *Chester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Stafford*, *Oxford*, *Bristol*. Its greatest Length was 160 Miles, and its greatest Breadth about 100.

CRIDA.  
H. Hunt.  
Fl. Wig.

*CRIDA* the first King of *Mercia*, arriv'd in *England* in 584. He was crown'd the same or the following Year, and died in 594.

INTER-  
REG-  
NUM

After *Crida's* Death, *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent* got possession of *Mercia* and kept it some Time. But afterwards he restor'd it to *Wibba*, the Son of *Crida*, reserving however some Right of Sovereignty, the Nature of which Historians have neglected to acquaint us with.

WIBBA.  
597.  
H. Hunt.  
L. 2.  
Polychr.  
L. v. c. 12.

*WIBBA* reigned 19 Years, and died in 615. He left behind him a Son call'd *Penda*, who was to have succeeded him: but *Ethelbert* being still alive and dreading his restless and turbulent Spirit, set him by, and after *Mercia* had been a Year without a King, confer'd the Crown on

CEAR-  
LUS.  
616.

*CEARLUS* Cousin-German to *Wibba*, who after the Death of *Ethelbert* freed *Mercia* from the Dominion of the Kings of *Kent*. He reigned 9 Years and died in 624. As he had no Heirs,

PENDA.  
625.  
H. Hunt.  
L. 2.

*PENDA* the Son of *Wibba* succeeded him in the 50th Year of his Age. *Ethelbert* had not without Reason refus'd him the Crown after his Father's Death, He being the most restless and stirring Prince that ever reign'd in *England*. Peace and Quiet were worse than Death to him. I have already spoken of his Wars with *Edwin*, *Oswald* and *Oswy* Kings of *Northumberland*.

Those



Those he had with the Kings of *Wessex* and the *East-Angles*, I shall mention, in order to avoid Repetition, in the History of these two Kingdoms.

In 653. *Penda* caus'd *Peda* his eldest Son, to be crown'd King of *Leicester*, and then sent him into *Northumberland* to espouse the Daughter of *Osby*, where he was converted to Christianity. He brought back with him some *Missionaries*, who preach'd the Gospel in *Mercia* with good Success. But *Penda* liv'd and died a *Pagan*. 653.  
Bede, l. 3.  
c. 21.

At length he was slain in Battle in the 80th Year of his Age, as has been related in the History of *Northumberland*. He left Issue five Sons, *Peda*, *Wulfer*, *Ethelred*, *Merowald*, and *Mercelm*, and two Daughters, *Ciniburga* and *Cinifwintha*.

After the Death of *Penda*, *Osby* became Master of *Mercia* and kept it 3 Years. However he left *Peda* his Son-in-law the little Kingdom of *Leicester*. But upon his being poison'd soon after by his Wife, *Osby* seiz'd upon that too, and held it with the rest of *Mercia*, till he was driven thence by *Wulfer*. INTER-  
REG-  
NUM.  
657.  
Bede.  
Polychr.  
Flor. Wig.

*WULFER*'s Reign was no less full of Commotions than that of his Father *Penda*. But as his Wars are of no Moment; and besides but lamely related by Historians, I shall only observe, that He took *Adelwalch*, King of *Sussex*, Prisoner, and brought him to *Mercia* after he had conquer'd his Kingdom. Some time after *Adelwalch* having turn'd Christian during his Imprisonment, *Wulfer* gave him the Isle of *Wight*, which he had likewise subdu'd. There is Room to conjecture that *Wulfer* had also conquer'd the Kingdom of *Essex*, since it is well known he dispos'd of the Bishoprick of *London* in favour of one call'd *Wina*. WUL-  
FER.  
659.  
M. Westm.  
663.  
Bede, l. 4.  
c. 3. & 7  
Fl. Wig.  
666.

*Wulfer* was an Idolater when he came to the Crown: but in a little time he was converted and had all his Children brought up in the Christian Religion. *Vereburga*, one of his Daughters, was honor'd as a *Saint*. He died in 675, thinking to leave his Crown to his Son *Cenred*: but *Ethelred* his Brother found the Means to supplant his Nephew and obtain the Kingdom. Malm. l. 1.  
c. 4.  
Flor. Wig.

A 2

ETHEL-

ETHEL-  
RED.

675.

ETHELRED, as soon as he was seated on the Throne, erected *Herefordshire* into a Kingdom, and gave it to *Merowald* his Brother, who dying without Heirs, left it to his younger Brother *Marcelm*; He dying also without Children, it was again united to *Mercia*.

679.  
Bede, l. 4.

c. 21.

G. Malm.

l. 3. de

Pont.

Bede.

Fl. Wig.

M. West.

In 676, *Ethelred* invaded *Kent* and made great Devastations. After that he turn'd his Arms against *Noxthumberland*, and compell'd *Egfrid* to restore certain *Mercian* Towns he had taken during the Reign of *Wulfer*. *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had a great hand in making up the Peace between the two Kings.

704.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 4.\* Lincoln-  
shire.

CENRED

704.  
Bede, l. 5.  
c. 20.

In 697, *Ostfrith* the Wife of *Ethelred* was assassinated, and the little Care that was taken to discover the Murderers, makes it suspected that the King was concern'd in the Matter. However this be, *Ethelred* growing weary of the World, resign'd his Crown to *Cenred* his Nephew, the Son of *Wulfer*, and shut himself up in *Bardney-Monastery* \*, of which, a little after, he was made *Abbot*.

CENRED acted nothing remarkable during his 4 Years Reign, but the exchanging his Crown for the *Monkish Habit*, after the Example of *Offa* King of *Essex*, who was come to his Court, in order to demand *Cinifwintha* his Aunt, the Daughter of *Penda*, in Marriage. This Princess knew how to manage both the Kings so dexterously that she perswaded them to turn Monks, and to go to *Rome* and receive the *Tonsure* at the Pope's Hands. *Ceolred* the Son of *Ethelred* succeeded his Cousin *Cenred*.

CEOL-  
RED.709.  
Ann. Sax.  
Fl. Wig.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 4.

715.

G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 4.Epist. Bon.  
19.

CEOLRED had a terrible War to sustain against *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*. Historians, according to Custom, without letting us know the Motives or Particulars of it, only tell us, that the two Kings, at *Wodenburgh* in *Wiltshire*, fought a bloody Battle with equal Success.

*Ceolred* was far from being of his Predecessor's Mind to prefer the *Monk's Habit* before a Crown. He not only had no Regard for the *Monks* and the rest of the *Clergy*, but if we may believe Historians, broke in upon their Priviledges without any scruple. This Proceeding of his, so contrary to that of all the other *English* Princes, rais'd

rais'd great Clamours against him. The *Monks* took all opportunities to paint him out in the blackest Colours. Their Animosity followed him into the other World. After his Death, which happen'd in 716, they gave out, that He resign'd his last Breath, blaspheming and talking with the Devil. Such sort of Reports against Those, that were not in the Interest of the Monks, were not spread abroad without Design. The Histories of Those Days are full of Them. *Ethelbald*, the Grandson of *Eoppa* the Brother of *Penda*, mounted the Throne after *Ceolred*. 716.

This Prince was one of the most Illustrious Kings that had hitherto reign'd in *Mercia*. He was also chosen *Monarch* in the Room of *Ina* King of *Wessex*, who had turn'd Monk. This Dignity seems to have consisted originally only in presiding at the General Assemblies, and in commanding the Armies of the Seven Kingdoms, or in some other *Prerogatives*, which confer'd no Right of Sovereignty over the other Kings. At least, the Electors look'd upon it in this Light. But the *Monarchs* generally consider'd it after a very different Manner. They were no sooner invested with it, but their first Care was to grasp at an unlimited Power, to which they thought themselves entitled by the Examples of the preceding Monarchs. *Ethelbald*, by taking the Advantage of a favorable Conjunction, carried the *Prerogatives* of the Monarchy to the highest Degree, and by that means became very troublesom and formidable to the other Kings. For which Reason the Kings of *Wessex* and *Northumberland* agreed to attack him from two different Quarters at once. As *Mercia* was situated between these two Kingdoms, *Ethelbald* was oblig'd to send Half his Army towards the North, whilst with the other Half he march'd himself against the *West-Saxons* commanded by *Ethelun*. We have no Particulars of this War, only that *Ethelbald* was vanquish'd and his Army put to Rout. 752.

ETHEL-  
BALD.  
716.

Bede, l. 5.  
c. 24.  
H. Hunt.

752.  
Ann. Sax.  
H. Hunt.

Four Years after, He was slain in a Mutiny, rais'd by a Lord nam'd *Beornred*, who got himself proclaim'd King by the Soldiers. 757.

M. West.



BEORN-

RED,

Usurper.

757.

G. Malm.

l. i. c. 4.

Bede Epi.

BEORNRED's being elected by the Army, who had no Authority to do it, was very displeasing to the *Mercian* Lords, especially as he was no ways related to the Royal Family. And therefore, before he cou'd have Time to settle himself on the Throne, They chose *Offa* Nephew to *Ethelbald* for their King, who immediately getting an Army together, gave the Usurper Battle, and obtain'd a complete Victory. Some say, *Beornred* was slain, and Others, that he maintain'd his Ground for some Time in some Part of *Mercia*.

OFFA.

757.

G. Malm.

l. 4.

Fl. Wig.

OFFA was one of the most famous Kings that reign'd in *England* during the *Heptarchy*, not only for his being *Monarch* and his Victories over the *Welsh* and the neighboring *Saxon* Princes, but upon several other Accounts, which I shall briefly mention. One of his greatest Victories, was that over *Aldrick* King of *Kent* in 774.

Nothing was more common than to see those, who were invested with the *Monarchy*, asserting a sovereign Authority over the other Kings. *Offa*, treading in the Steps of his Predecessors, had continual Wars with the Princes that disputed his pretended Claim. But his Wars are so lamely and imperfectly related by Historians, that they have not said enough to give a clear Notion of Them. We must therefore be contented with what has been said of him in general, which may serve to afford us some Insight into his Character.

Whilst *Offa* was employ'd in subduing the *Saxon* Kings, the *Welsh*, always upon the Watch to lay hold on any Advantage the frequent Dissensions of the *English* gave them, thought they had now a good opportunity to attack him. This unexpected War, wherein the *Welsh* at first were successful, made *Offa* strike up a Peace with the *English*, in order to turn his Arms against the *Welsh*. In a little Time, He reduc'd Them to such a Condition, that they were fain to abandon not only their Conquests in *Mercia*, but also Part of their own Country beyond the *Severn*, which *Offa* peopled with *English* Colonies. To prevent the *Welsh* from ever retaking it again, He threw up a Rampart, defended by a large Ditch, which

Sim. Dun.

which serv'd as a Boundary between *Mercia* and *Wales*. This Rampart in length 24 Miles from the Mouth of the *Dee*, to the Place where the *Wye* runs into the *Severn*, was call'd *Clawdh-Offa*, or *Offa's Dike*.

In 786, *Offa* made his Son *Egfrid* Partner with him Ann. Sax. in the Government, and gave his Daughter *Edburg* in Marriage to *Brithrick* King of *Wessex*.

What cast the greatest Blemish on the good Name of *Offa*, was his Treachery towards *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*. M. West. Ann. Sax. This young Prince designing to marry, came to the Court of *Offa* and demanded his Daughter *Adelfrida* in Marriage. He was receiv'd at first with great Marks of Affection and Esteem. But soon after the Scene was chang'd, *Offa* by the pressing and repeated Instigations of *Quendrida* his Wife, who represented to him that he ought not to let slip so favorable an opportunity of becoming Master of *East-Anglia*, was perswaded to break the most Sacred Laws of Honor and Hospitality, by the Murder of *Ethelbert*. Brompton. Upon which he march'd into *East-Anglia* with a numerous Army, and meeting with no Opposition, got possession of the Kingdom and united it to *Mercia*.

He had no sooner committed this horrid Fact, but he was seiz'd with a cruel Remorse. His Crime was continually before his Eyes, and tormented him in such a manner, that he cou'd not enjoy a moment's Ease. To appease his raging Conscience he resolv'd upon a Journey to *Rome* (which he perform'd in 794) that he might obtain a Pardon from the Pope, in order to secure himself from the Punishment due to his Crime. The Pope \* Adrian. granted his Request, on condition he wou'd be liberal to the Churches and Monasteries: for that was the Way of attoning for Sins then. It were to be wish'd that Restitution had also been enjoin'd as a necessary and previous Article.

Among the Liberalities of *Offa* to the Churches of *Rome*, we must not omit One, which prov'd of ill Consequence to *England*. *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons*, had already founded at *Rome* a College for the Education of *English* Youth;

M. Par.  
M. West.

\* 1st. of  
August.

793.  
Bede. l. 1.  
c. 7.

l. 2.

Lambert.  
Sax. leg.  
Spelman  
Concil.

Youth; for the Support of which he had order'd a *Penny* to be collected yearly of every Family in his Dominions. This kind of Charity was term'd *Romescot*, that is, *Tribute of Rome*, or *Sent to Rome*. *Offa* extended this Tax throughout *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, the Lands belonging to the Monastery of *St. Alban's* only excepted: And because this Money was paid at *Rome* on a Holy-day, call'd *St. Peter's ad vincula* \*, this Tax was nam'd *Peter-Pence*, instead of *Romescot*. By this Means the Directors of the College were abundantly supplied wherewithal to defray the Expences they were at from the great Concourse of the *English*, who came to study at *Rome*. In process of Time, the *Popes* pretending it was a Tribute the *English* paid to *St. Peter* and his Successors, converted it to their own Use, till it was entirely abolish'd by *Henry VIII* (a).

Before *Offa* left *Rome*, he obtain'd of the *Pope* the Canonization of *St. Alban*, the first *British* Martyr, whose Relicks they pretended were found at *Verulam*. At his Return, he built there a fine Church and a stately Monastery, to which he granted great Privileges, and a large Revenue. From that Time *Verulam* was called *St. Alban's*. *Offa* was also very munificent to the Church of *Hereford*, where the Body of the King of *East-Anglia* lay interr'd, to the end they might pray to God incessantly for the Murder'd and Murtherer.

*William of Malmesbury*, speaking of King *Offa*, is at a Loss whether he should rank him among the good or bad Princes. The Murther of *Ethelbert* being put in the Balance against the Canonization of *St. Alban*, and the founding a noble Monastery in Honor of that Saint, made him doubt which Side out-weigh'd,

The Reign of *Offa* is memorable upon several Accounts: The erecting of *Lichfield* into an Archbishoprick, of which I shall speak elsewhere: *Peter-Pence*: A Body of Laws publish'd under the Title of *Mercens Leaga*, (i. e.) *Laws of the Mercians*, which serv'd as a Patern to his Successors, and the greatest Part whereof were inserted in King *Alfred's*

(a) *Nat. Bacon*, Ch. XI. makes appear it was far from being a Tribute.



*Alfred's* Laws publish'd towards the End of the following Century.

*Offa* had contracted a close Friendship with *Charles the Great*. We meet with some of the Letters they wrote to one another, in *the Life of Offa*, at the End of *Matthew Paris's* History: A *Life*, wherein are almost as many *Fables* as *Truths*. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 4.

This Prince died in 796, after he had reigned 39 Years. *Egfrid*, who had already been crown'd as his Partner, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and in the Dignity of Monarch.

*EGFRID*, who out-liv'd his Father but four or five Months, employ'd that Time in enriching the *Monks*, especially those of *St. Alban's*. *Cenulph*, descended from *Wibba*, by another Branch, succeeded him in both his Dignities. EGFRID 796. M. West. H. Hunt. Fl. Wig.

*CENULPH* was no sooner on the Throne, but he declar'd War against *Edbert-Pren* King of *Kent*, the Motive whereof is unknown. We are only told that it prov'd fatal to the King of *Kent*, who being taken Prisoner was carried to *Mercia*, where *Cenulph* order'd his Eyes to be put out, after he had plac'd Another on the Throne of *Kent*. CEN-ULPH. 796. Sim. Dun. R. deHov.

*Cenulph* died in 819, after a glorious Reign of 24 Years. He left a Son nam'd *Cenelm*, very young, and two Daughters, *Quendrida* and *Burganilda*. G. Malm. Polychr.

*Quendrida*, the eldest Sister of *Cenelm*, hoping to mount the Throne, if her Brother was out of the way, had him assassinated by one *Ascobert*, who threw his Body into a Well, where it was found, as is said, by a Miracle. *Quendrida* did not reap that Benefit from her Crime she propos'd to her self, for the *Mercians* chose for their King CENELM 819.

*CEOLULPH*, the Uncle of the last King, who after a Years Reign was depos'd by *Bernulph*, one of the principal Lords of the Country. CEO-LULPH: 819. An. Sax.

*BERNULPH*, 821. *LUDICAN*, 823. *WITGLAPH*, 825. I shall say nothing here of these three last Kings of *Mercia*, because I shall have occasion to mention them in the History of the Kings of the *West-Saxons*.

The

## The HISTORY of *EAST-ANGIA.*

East-Anglia.

**T**HE Kingdom of the *East-Angles* was bounded on the *North* by the *Humber* and the *German Ocean*: On the *East*, by the same *Ocean*, which surrounded it almost on two Sides: On the *South*, by the Kingdom of *Essex*; and on the *West*, by *Mercia*. Its greatest Length was 80, and its greatest Breadth 55, Miles. It contain'd the two Counties of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, and Part of *Cambridgeshire*. The chief Towns were *Norwich*, *Thetford*, *Ely*, and *Cambridge*. I have already related, how this Kingdom was founded by the *Angles* that arrived on the *Eastern Coasts* of *Britain* under 12 Chiefs, the longest Liver of whom, *Uffa*, assum'd the Title of *King of the East-Angles*.

UFFA.

571.

TITIL.

578.

We don't find he acted any Thing remarkable after his being King. He died in 578, and was succeeded by

*TITIL* his Son, of whom we know nothing but that he died in 599, and had for his Successor,

REDOW-  
ALD.

599.

Langh.  
Chr. Reg.

Florileg.

*REDOWALD* his Son, the most illustrious of all the Kings of *East-Anglia*, if not of the whole *Heptarchy*.

As I have largely treated of him in the History of *Northumberland*, I shall only observe here that he died in 624, leaving his Crown to

ERP-  
WALD

624.

G. Malm.

l. 1, c. 3.

*ERPWALD* his Son, who made but a very indifferent Figure in the *Heptarchy*, being all along in Subjection to *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*. This last might have depriv'd him of his Kingdom, with the Consent of the *East-Angles*, if the obligations he had receiv'd from *Redowald* his Father wou'd have suffer'd him to have been guilty of so black an Ingratitude. However he was in

Fact the Sovereign of *East-Anglia*, tho' he left *Erpwald*

the Title of King. *Erpwald* was assassinated in 633 after he had reign'd 9 Years. Bede, l. 2. c. 15.

After his Death, *East-Anglia* had no King for three Years, the Reason whereof is unknown. In 636 the *East-Angles* plac'd on the Throne INTER-REGNUM 633.

*SIGEBERT*, who having been banish'd by *Erpwald*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, on Suspicion of aspiring to the Crown, had retir'd into *France*, where he became a Christian. As soon as he was King of *East-Anglia*, he made it his chief Business to bring his Subjects to the knowledge of the True God; which, tho' it had been done in the Reign of *Redowald*, was now almost extinguish'd again, having never had any deep Root. After he had effected this by the Assistance of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Priest, he retir'd into a Monastery, resigning his Crown to SIGEBERT. 636. G. Malm. l. 1. c. 5. Fl. Wig. Bede, l. 3. c. 18. H. Hunt, l. 3.

*EGRICK* his Relation, who being attack'd soon after his Coronation by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, the *East-Angles* petition *Segebert* to quit his Monastery, and put himself at their Head. He stood out a good while against all their Intreaties: But as they were perswaded *Heaven* could not refuse the Victory to so pious a Prince, they press'd him so earnestly, that at length he yielded to their Request, and headed the Army with *Egrick*, having no Arms in his Hand but only a Switch. God, who is not guided by our Notions, gave the Victory to the *Mercians*, both the *East-Anglian* Kings being slain on the Spot. They were succeeded by EGRICK. 644.

*ANNAS* the Son of *Ennius* Nephew to *Redowald*, one of the most illustrious Kings of *East-Anglia*. By his Aid it was, that *Cenowalch* King of *Wessex*, who had fled to him for Refuge, recover'd his Dominions from *Penda*, who had depriv'd him of them, in 645. ANNAS. 644.

This drew upon him the Hatred of *Penda*, who, out of Revenge, was resolv'd to carry Fire and Sword into *East-Anglia*. *Annas* died whilst he was preparing to defend himself, and left the Management of this dangerous War to 654. Ann. Sax. Fl. Wig. Polychr.

*ETHEL RICK* his Brother and Successor, who, dreading the Valour and Power of *Penda*, bought him off with ETHEL RICK. 654.



with a Sum of Money, and to engage him in a War with *Northumberland*, offer'd to join him with all his Forces. I have already related, how they were both slain in an Engagement with *OSWY*. He was succeeded by

ADEL-  
WALT.

655.

ALDULPH.

664.

*ADELWALT*, his Brother, of whom we only know that he died in 664, leaving his Crown to

*ALDULPH* his Nephew the Son of *Ethelrick*, of whom all that can be learn'd is, that he was alive in 680, and assisted at the Council of *Hatfield*. His Successor was

ALF-  
WALD.

BEORNA

and E-

THEL-

BERT.

749.

ETHEL-  
RED.

ETHEL-  
BERT.

*ALFWALD*, who died in 749, and was succeeded by

*BEORNA* and *ETHELBERT*, who divided the Kingdom (*a*). *Ethelbert* dying before the Year 758. *Beorna* reign'd alone. But we know nothing more of Him, but that he was succeeded by

*ETHELRED*, who dying about the Year 790, left the Crown to

*ETHELBERT*, whom *Offa* King of *Mercia* put to death in order to seize his Kingdom, in 792: From which time *East-Anglia* and *Mercia* made but one Kingdom.

## The HISTORY of the Kingdom of *ESSEX*.

Kingdom of  
*Essex*.

**T**HE Kingdom of the *East-Saxons* was bounded on the North, by *East-Anglia*, on the East, by the *German Ocean*, on the South, by the *Thames*, and on the West, by *Mercia*. Its greatest Length was 65 Miles, and its greatest Breadth, 38. It contain'd the Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and Part of *Hertfordshire*.

(*a*) *Tyrrel* says, he saw in a Chronicle of *Mailro's* a King nam'd *Switheard*, who reign'd 749. He might have succeeded *Alfwald*.

*shire.* The principal Cities were *London* and *Colchester*, the first of which became afterwards the *Metropolis* of all *England*. It had formerly been very considerable, by reason of its Situation, in the Time of the *Romans*, who made it a *Colony*. But in all probability it was reduc'd very low, after the Arrival of the *Saxons*.

This Country having been extorted from *Vortigern* by *Hengist*, after the Massacre of the *British* Lords, was erected into a Kingdom by *Erchenwin*. Historians have neglected to give us an Account of the founding of this Kingdom, by the Loss of which the Successors of *Hengist* were depriv'd of as large a Tract of Land as the Kingdom of *Kent*. Had a Monastery been in the Case, we shou'd have had all the Particulars.

*ERCHENWIN* began his Reign in 527, and died in 587, after he had reigned 60 Years. He was succeeded by

*SLEDDA* his Son. It is not known in what Year he died, but only that

*SABERT* or *SABA* his Son reign'd in 599. He was the first Christian King of *Essex*, being converted by the Preaching of *Melitus* and Sollicitation of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, his Uncle by the Mother's Side (a). He was noted for his Piety and Zeal for the true Religion. He died in 616, and was succeeded by

*SAXRED*, *SEWARD*, and *SIGEBERT* his Sons, who reigning together, forsook with one Consent the Christian Religion, which they had profess'd during their Father's Life. After they had reign'd seven Years, they rashly came to an Engagement, upon very unequal Terms, with *Cinigisl* and *Quicelm* Kings of *Wessex*, wherein they were all Three cut off, with their whole Army. They had for their Successor

*SIGEBERT the Little*, the Son of *Seward*: Of whom we don't know so much as the Time of his Death, but only that he was succeeded by

*SIGEBERT the Good*, Grandson to a Brother of pious King *Sabert*, who was on the Throne in 653. This Prince

B b 2

(a) *Ricula*, Sister to *Ethelbert*, was *Sabert's* Mother.

ERCHENWIN.

527.  
G. Malm.

SLEDDA.

587.

SABERT.

SAXRED.

616.

Bromp.

M. West.

Bede, l. 2.

c. 5.

M. West.

SIGEBERT

the Little.

623.

SIGEBERT

the Good.

653.

Fl. Wig.  
in Generl.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 6.  
Bede, l. 3.  
c. 22.

Prince re-establish'd the Christian Religion in his Dominions, from whence it had been expell'd ever since the Death of *Sabert*. He was assisted therein by *Cedd*, a *Northumberland* Priest, who was consecrated Bishop of the *East-Saxons*. He was assassinated in 655 by two Counts his Relations, who, having been excommunicated by *Cedd*, complain'd that the King, instead of avenging their Quarrel, threw himself at the Feet of the Bishop, begging pardon for his having convers'd with them since their Excommunication. His Successor was

SWITH-  
THELM.

*SWITHELM* his Brother, of whom we know nothing, but that he was succeeded by

655.  
Fl. Wig.  
G. Malm.  
SEBBA.  
and SI-  
GER.

*SEBBA* and *SIGER*; the first was the Son of *Se-ward*, and the other of *Sigebert the Little*. *Siger* return'd to Idolatry; but *Sebba* stedfastly adher'd to the Christian Religion. They were Vassals to the King of *Mercia*, as hath been related in the Reign of *Wulfer*. *Siger* died in 683, and

SEBBA alone.  
683.

*SEBBA* having reign'd sole King of *Essex* about 11 Years longer, turn'd Monk in 694, and left his Crown to

SIGHARD  
and SE-  
NOFRID.  
694.  
OFFA.

*SIGHARD* and *SENOFRID* his Sons, who, reigning together, in all appearance died much about the same Time towards the Year 705. To them succeeded

705.

*OFFA* the Son of *Siger*, who, together with *Cenred* King of *Mercia* was perswaded to turn Monk by *Cinifwintha*, as hath been before observ'd. *Offa* is said by some to be succeeded by

SEOLRED.  
709.  
G. Malm.  
H. Hunt.  
SWITH-  
RED.

*SEOLRED* or *SELRED* the Son of *Sigebert the Good*, who was slain after a Reign of 39 Years, but by whom or how is not known. His Successor was

749.

*SWITHRED* his Son, as some say, This is the last King whose Name we meet with in the *Saxon Annals*. He began to reign in 746, and in case he was alive at the Time of the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, he must have reign'd 78 Years. Of all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, there is none whose History is so imperfect as That of the Kingdom of *Essex*.

The



## The HISTORY of the Kingdom of *KENT*.

**T**HE Kingdom of *Kent*, the First that was found-  
ed by the *Saxons*, being neither Large nor very  
Considerable, made no Figure in the *Heptarchy*,  
but only during the Reigns of *Hengist* and *Ethelbert*. It  
was very advantageously situated, having the Sea to the  
*South* and *East*, the *Thames* to the *North*, and the little  
Kingdom of *Sussex* to the *West*. As long as *That* lasted,  
it serv'd as a Rampart to the Kings of *Kent* against the Am-  
bition of the Kings of *Wessex*. But after it was subdu'd  
by the *West-Saxons*, the Kingdom of *Kent* was every mo-  
ment in Danger of falling under the Subjection of its  
powerful Neighbours. The Truth is, the Awe the  
Kings of *Wessex* and *Mercia* kept one another in by rea-  
son of the equality of their Forces, prevented for a long  
time this little Kingdom from becoming a Prey to one or  
other of Them. It was not above 60 Miles in Length,  
and 30 in Breadth. The chief Towns were *Dorobern* or  
*Canterbury* the Capital, *Dover*, *Rocheſter* and some others  
not ſo large, but however noted for their Situation and Har-  
bours, as *Sandwich*, *Deal*, *Folkstone*, *Reculver*, &c.

*HENGIST* arriv'd in *Great-Britain* in 449. He  
aſſum'd the Title of *King of Kent* in 455, and died in  
488. He was ſucceeded by

*ESCUS* his Son. As the *Saxons*, after the Death  
of *Hengist*, confer'd the Command of their Armies on *Ella*  
King of *Sussex*, it is very likely *Eſcus* was not in ſo great  
Eſteem as his Father. We know of nothing remarkable  
in relation to his Reign, which laſted to the Year 512.  
His Succeſſor was

*Kingdom of  
Kent.*

HEN-  
GIST.  
455.

ESCUS.  
488.  
G. Malm.  
v. 1. c. 1.

OCTA.

512.

Fl. Wig.  
G. Malm.

Polychr.

HER-  
MEN-  
RICK.534.  
ETHEL-  
BERT.

568.

Fl. Wig.

H. Hunt.

l. 2.

M. West.

568.

G. Malm.

l. 1. c. 1.

Bede, l. 1.

c. 21.

G. Thorn.

OCTA his Son, who suffer'd, or at least cou'd not prevent, the erecting of the Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex* taken from the Kingdom of *Kent*, into the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons*. This is the only Particular we meet with during his 22 Years Reign. After *Osta* his Father

*HERMENRICK* mounted the Throne, and reigned 30 Years. Before his Death, he had taken into Partnership with him in the Government his Son and Successor

*ETHELBERT*, one of the most celebrated Kings not only of *Kent*, but of the whole *Heptarchy*. He was famous upon many Accounts, particularly for his being the first Christian King of his Nation.

This Prince, who had a great and an aspiring Genius, saw with regret, that his Predecessors had lost the Dignity of Monarch, and the Superiority *Hengist* had over all the *Saxons* that were settled in his Time in *Great-Britain*. At his coming to the Crown He found *Keaulin* King of *Wessex* in possession of this Superiority as Monarch. He had a mind to dispute it with him, and was twice worsted. Upon which he lay quiet till the Year 593, when he took up Arms again, not singly as before, but in conjunction with all the other Kings, who were disgusted at *Keaulin's* becoming Master of the Kingdom of *Sussex*. *Ethelbert* being declar'd General, defeated *Keaulin*, who died soon after.

After his Death, *Ethelbert* being elected Monarch, and forgetting the Fall of *Keaulin*, of which he himself was the Cause, exercis'd an almost absolute Power over all the Kingdoms lying South of the *Humber*, the *Northumbrians* alone having found the means to keep themselves Independent of him. All the other chose rather to submit than try it out with him.

Besides his being dreaded on account of his great Accomplishments, his Alliance with *France* by the means of his Marriage with *Bertha* the Daughter of *Cherebert* King of *Paris*, did not a little contribute to the rendring him formidable to the neighboring Princes, who had room to fear his calling in the *French* into *England*, which he might easily have done. But tho' the Haughtiness wherewith *Ethelbert* treated

treated them, after he had vanquish'd them several times, made them exceeding uneasy, yet had they still a much greater Reason to be alarm'd.

Upon the Death of *Crida* King of *Mercia*, *Ethelbert* got possession of his Kingdom, though he had left a Son behind him. In this *Ethelbert* trod exactly in the Steps of *Keaulin*, though he himself had stirr'd up the other Kings against that Monarch, on account of his Ambition. Thus Men, for the most part, condemn in others what they approve of in themselves. *Ethelbert* it seems pretended that he had a Right as Monarch, or as a Descendent of *Hengist*, to succeed to all the vacant Thrones in the *Heptarchy*. For when Fortune smiles on a Man, it is no hard Matter for him to find Reasons, either *good* or *bad*, to support the most exorbitant Pretensions. However this be, the *Anglo-Saxon* Princes, alarm'd at this open Usurpation, began to look about them, and take such Measures as should put a Stop to his Power before it grew to a greater Height. The Monarch dreading they would All enter into a League against him, and serve him as they had done *Keaulin*, thought it not prudent to expose himself to so great a Danger. Accordingly, to make them easy, he restor'd the Kingdom of *Mercia* to *Wibba* the Son of *Crida*, reserving however such an Authority over him, as that he should not dare to undertake any thing without his Order or Leave. Satisfied with this, they laid aside all Thoughts of a War, which Necessity alone had drove them to.

Nothing very remarkable happen'd in the rest of *Ethelbert's* Reign, except what related to Religion, of which I shall speak in the History of the Church. He had two Wives, the first was *Bertha* of *France*, by whom he had *Edbald*, who succeeded him, and *Ethelburga*, married to *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*. The Name of his second Wife is unknown. He died in 616, after he had reigned 52 Years.

*EDBALD* was very unlike his Father. As soon as he became his own Master, he turn'd Heathen. He is said to have married the Queen his Mother-in-law. His Vices rendering him slothful and unactive, the Kings shook off

594.

Ann. Sax.  
Fl. Wig.616.  
G. Malm.  
G. Thorn.  
Hist. Ab.  
the S. Aug.



the Yoke they had born during the Life of *Ethelbert*. The King of *Mercia* in particular having asserted his Liberty, *Edbald* had neither the Power nor Courage to maintain what the King his Father thought he had so firmly establish'd. I don't know whether Historians are not agreed in giving this Prince an exceeding bad Character, in order to set off his Conversion the more. However this be, they assure us, that by the Pains of *Laurentius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he return'd to the Profession of the Gospel, and led the remainder of his Days according to its holy Precepts. He left Issue two Sons, *Ermenfred*, and *Ercombert*, which last succeeded him, and a Daughter named *Enswith*, who founded the Abby of *Folkstone*.

ERCOMBERT.

640.  
M. West.  
G. Malm.  
I. 1. c. 1.  
G. Thorn.

*ERCOMBERT*, though the youngest of *Edbald's* Sons, found the Means to mount the Throne, to the Prejudice of his elder Brother. He order'd the Temples of the false Gods to be raz'd to the Ground, and the Idols to be broke in pieces, lest they should prove a Snare to the People. *Ermenfred* his Brother being seisd with a Distemper that brought him to his Grave, *Edbald* promis'd him he would leave the Crown, which of Right belonged to him, to his Children. But he was not as good as his Word. Perhaps it was too late when he came to think of it just before his Death, in the Year 664. He left two Sons, *Egbert*, and *Lothair*, and two Daughters; *Ermenilda* the Eldest was married to *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*: The other was a Nun.

EGBERT.  
664.

*EGBERT* was no sooner on the Throne, but he put *Ercombert's* two Sons to death, for fear they shou'd give him any Disturbance in the Possession of the Crown. He presented their Sister *Domnena* with some Lands in the Isle of *Thanet*, where she founded a Monastery. He died in 673, leaving two Sons, *Edrick* and *Widred*, who were not his immediate Successors, the Crown being seisd by

LOTHAIR.  
673.  
Vit. Rich.  
ar.

*LOTHAIR* their Uncle, who to secure the Succession to his Family, made his Son *Richard* Partner with him in the Government, after he had reign'd ten Years unmolested. This Proceeding oblig'd *Edrick* to withdraw from Court and apply to *Adelwalsh* King of *Sussex* for Aid,

Aid, who put him at the Head of an Army; with which entering *Kent*, he vanquish'd *Lothair*, who died of the Wounds he receiv'd in Battle. Upon which *Edrick* was crown'd without any Opposition. *Richard* fled into *Germany*, where *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, an Englishman, gave him his Sister in Marriage, and got him elected King of *Swabia*, if we may believe some Historians. I don't know how he came to die at *Lucca* in *Tuscany*, where his Tomb is still to be seen. They stile him King of *England*, whereas at best he was but King of *Kent*.

685.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 1.

Offici.  
Eccl. Andr.  
in festo Ric.

*EDRICK* reign'd but two Years, and as he had no Children, he left the Crown to

EDRICK.  
685.  
G. Malm.  
WIDRED  
and SWA-  
BERT.  
686.

*WIDRED* his Brother, who was forc'd to make *SWABERT* his Partner. After *Edrick's* Death, Troubles and Commotions arose, caus'd by the Ambition of some of the Great Men, who refus'd to acknowledge *Widred* for King. In all probability *Swabert* was one of the Principal of the Rebels, since he was taken in Partner in the Government. It is not known whether he was any ways related to the Royal Family.

In the Reign of these two Kings, *Cadwalla* King of the *West-Saxons* imagining that the Intestin Divisions in *Kent* wou'd render the Kingdom an easy Conquest, sent an Army thither under the Command of his Brother *Mollon*, who over-ran great Part of the Country. But at length the two Kings joining Forces gave him Battle and defeated him. *Mollon* perceiving he was closely pursued, took shelter with twelve others in a House which they valiantly defended: But the *Kentish* Soldiers setting fire to the House, they all miserably perish'd in the Flames. *Cadwalla* soon reveng'd the Death of his Brother, whom he tenderly lov'd. He enter'd *Kent* with a formidable Army, and never left till he had destroy'd the whole Country by Fire and Sword. After this Invasion *Kent* was reduc'd so low that it never more made any Figure in the *Heptarchy*.

H. Hunt.  
l. 4.  
687.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 1.  
Bromp.  
G. Thorn.  
Polychr.  
l. 5. c. 20.

The two Kings began not to enjoy any Quiet till the Year 691. This perhaps was the reason of *Bede's* placing the beginning of the Reign of *Widred* in this Year, tho'

An. Sax.  
Fl. Wig.  
he Pol. chr.

he was crown'd five Years before. *Swabert* died in 695, and

WIDRED

alone.

695.  
Spel. con.

*WIDRED* remaining sole King of *Kent*, reign'd twelve Years longer, and died in 725, leaving behind him three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Edbert*, and *Aldrick*; He was succeed by the two eldest,

725.

An. Sax.

Fl. Wig.

ETHEL-

BERT.

748.

Ep. Bon.

40. and 77.

ALDRICK.

760.

*ETHELBERT* and *EDBERT*, who reigned jointly to the Year 748, and then *Edbert* dying,

*ETHELBERT* alone reign'd ten or twelve Years, and left his Crown after he had reign'd in all 36 Years, to

*ALDRICK* his Brother. He made his Son *Adulph* his Partner, who died before him. The Neighboring Princes seeing the weak Estate of *Kent*, frequently attack'd *Aldrick*, especially *Offa* King of *Mercia*, who, by a Victory he obtain'd over him, brought him to the Brink of Ruin. However the other Kings wou'd not suffer *Offa* to become Master of the Kingdom. Besides he was diverted from the War by the *Welsh* invading *Mercia*, as hath been related. Had it not been for this He wou'd in all likelihood have united *Kent* to *Mercia*.

*Aldrick* dying without Heirs, the Race of *Hengist* ended with him. He was succeeded by

EDBERT-  
PREN.

794.

G. Malm.

l. 1. c. 1.

798.

S. Durel.

Rog. Hov.

CUDRED.

798.

*EDBERT* surnam'd *Pren*. Of whose weakness *Cenulph*, King of *Mercia*, taking the Advantage, ravag'd *Kent* from one End to t'other; and at last having defeated and taken him Prisoner, carried him into *Mercia*, where he order'd his Eyes to be put out. After this he plac'd on the Throne

*CUDRED*, who reign'd 8 Years, his Tributary and Vassal. After his Death *Cenulph* permitted

BAL-

DRED.

*BALDRED* his Son to succeed him, in whose Reign happen'd the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, which began with the Conquest of *Kent* by *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*, as we shall see hereafter.



## The HISTORY of the Kingdom of S U S S E X.

**T**HE Kingdom of *Sussex* was one of the most in-considerable of the *Heptarchy*. It contain'd only the two Counties of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, the greatest Part of which consisted of the large Forest of *Andrad's-wald*, so call'd by the *Saxons* from its *Roman* Name, *Ande-rida*. As this Forest stood untouch'd when *Elia* conquer'd *Sussex*, we may suppose it was grubb'd up by degrees. This Kingdom was not above 50 Miles long, and 40 broad. It was bounded on the *North* by the *Thames*, on the *South*, by the Sea, on the *East*, by the Kingdom of *Kent*, and on the *West*, by *Wessex*. The Capital City was *Chichester*, built by *Cissa* the second King of this Kingdom. He built also *Cisbury*, whose Ruins are still to be seen.

*ELLA* arriv'd in *Britain* in 476, and was crown'd King of *Sussex* in 491. He was a Prince of so great Reputation among the *Saxons*, that they judg'd him worthy to succeed *Hengist* in the Command of their Armies. He met with some ill Success, having to deal with so experienc'd a General as *Arthur* was: But however it did not hinder him from settling in the Country where he first landed, and founding there the Kingdom of *Sussex* or of the *South-Saxons*. I have largely spoken of *Baldulph* and *Colgrin* his Sons, slain at the Battle of *Badon*. After his Death in 514, he left the Crown to his only surviving Son,

*CISSA*, who was memorable for nothing but his long Reign of 76 Years, and I may add, his great Age. For supposing him but a Year or two old when his Father brought him over in 476, he could not have liv'd less

M. West. than 115 or 116 Years when he died in 590. But it is not likely *Ella* should bring with him a Child so young as that.

590. *Cissa* leaving no Issue, *Keaulin* King of *Wessex* and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, got possession of the Kingdom of *Sussex*. This occasion'd the League that the rest of the Princes enter'd into against him. But notwithstanding his being vanquish'd, *Ceolrick* his Nephew and Successor remain'd Master of *Sussex*.

Fl. Wig. From that Time the *South-Saxons* made several Attempts to shake off the Yoke of the Kings of *Wessex*. In 607 they revolted against *Ceolulph* King of *Wessex*, but were reduc'd to Obedience. In 648 they made another Struggle, but with no better Success. *Cenowalch* King of *Wessex*, continuing still in *East-Anglia*, and *Penda* King of *Mercia*, being Master of *Wessex*, the *South-Saxons* took that opportunity to place on their Throne a King nam'd

ADELWALCH, whom *Cenowalch* was not in a Condition to dethrone, after what his Kingdom had suffer'd from the Invasion of *Penda*, who had kept possession of it three Years. However *Adelwalch* was not left in Quiet. 661. *Wulpher* King of *Mercia*, having attack'd *Cenowalch*, and M. West. worited him in several Encounters, penetrated as far as *Sussex*, where vanquishing *Adelwalch*, he took him Prisoner, and made himself Master of his Kingdom, and of the Isle of *Wight*. *Adelwalch* having embrac'd the Christian Religion during his Imprisonment, *Wulpher* set him at Liberty, and made him a Present of the Isle of *Wight*.

An. Sax. It is very probable *Adelwalch*, after the Death of *Wulpher*, got possession again of the Kingdom of *Sussex*, since we find in the *Saxon Annals*, that he was on the Throne in 686.

686. The same Year *Cedwalla*, a *West-Saxon* Prince, being G. Malm. expell'd his own Country, enter'd *Sussex* with an Army, 73. de Pon. and *Adelwalch* endeavoring to drive him thence, was slain in Battle.

After the Death of *Adelwalch*, *Cedwalla* wou'd fain have made himself Master of *Sussex*, but was oppos'd by *Authun* and *Berthun*, who were return'd with an Army from

from an Expedition against *Kent*. At the same time, *Cedwalla*, hearing of the Death of the King of *Wesssex*, who had driven him out of his Dominions, return'd thither, where he was made King of the *West-Saxons*. In the mean while

*AUTHUN* and *BERTHUN* were crown'd Kings of *Suffex*. Some say they were the Sons, and Others, the Generals only, of *Aethwalch*. *Cedwalla* did not let them rest long, but making War against them, gave them Battle, wherein he was Conqueror, and *Berthun* slain.

AUTHUN  
and BERTHUN.  
688.

In all appearance *AUTHUN*, still enjoying the Crown, was entirely dependent on the King of *Wesssex*, who, after the Death of *Authun*, wou'd not suffer the vacant Throne to be fill'd.

AUTHUN  
alone.

The *South-Saxons* made several Struggles to recover their Liberty. They took up Arms in 722: but not having taken right Measures, *Ina* King of *Wesssex* reduc'd them to obedience.

722.

An. Sax.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 4.

Three Years after, taking the advantage of some Troubles that broke out in *Wesssex*, they plac'd on the Throne a King nam'd *Albert*. But *Ina*, having defeated and slain their new King, united their Kingdom to his own.

725.

Fl. Wig.  
Bede, l. 5.  
c. 19.

However this prevented them not in 754 in the Reign of *Sigebert* King of *Wesssex*, who was afterwards depos'd, from revolting once more, and chusing one nam'd *Osmond* for their King. In all likelihood, *Cenulph*, Successor to *Sigebert*, found the Means to bring them into Subjection again. After which, it does not appear they ever attempted to regain their Liberty, their Country being consider'd ever after as a Province of *Wesssex*.

754.



## The HISTORY of the Kingdom of *W E S S E X*.

*The Kingdom of Wessex or West-Saxons.*

**T**HERE were in the *Heptarchy* three Kingdoms, two of *Angles*, namely, *Northumberland*, and *Mercia*, and one of *Saxons* and *Jutes*, viz. *Wessex*, that vastly surpass'd the Rest in Grandeur and Power. *Wessex* was situated *South* of the *Thames*, in Breadth about 70 Miles from the *Thames* to the *British Channel*; and in Length 150, from the Frontiers of *Sussex*, to the River *Tamer*, which parted it from *Cornwal*. The principal Cities were *Winchester*, the Capital, *Southampton*, *Portsmouth*, *Salisbury*, *Dorchester*, *Sherborn*, *Exeter*, where a great many *Britons* were mixt with the *Saxons*. The Isle of *Wight*, inhabited by *Jutes*, was also dependent on this Kingdom.

As each Kingdom of the *Heptarchy* deriv'd its name from the Inhabitants and Situation, the Kingdom of *Wessex* or of the *West-Saxons* was so call'd because it lay *West* of *Sussex*, *Kent* and *Essex*. Besides the Extent, the Situation of this Kingdom made it also very considerable, since it was guarded on the *North* by the *Thames*, and on the *South* by the Sea; on the *East* it was bounded by the little Kingdom of *Sussex*, not at all formidable to its Neighbours, and on the *West* by the *Britons* of *Cornwal*, divided so from the rest of their Countrymen the *Welsh* by the Mouth of the *Severn*, that it was hardly possible for them to assist one another.

CRIDA.  
519.

*CRIDA* arriv'd in *Britain* in 495. He was crown'd the first Time King of the *West-Saxons* in 519, after *Arthur* had surrendred to him the two Counties of *Hampshire* and *Somersetshire*, the whole then of his Kingdom. He was crown'd a second time at *Winchester* in 532 or

533.

533, by the same Title, upon the delivery of *Berkshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire* by *Modred*. He died in 534, leaving his Crown to

*KENRICK* his Son, who during his father's Life, was renown'd for his Valour and Conduct, but, after he was King, prefer'd a quiet Life before the noise and hurry of Arms. We don't find that he acted any thing memorable during his Reign, besides defeating the *Britons*, who had ventur'd to attack him in 552. He died in 560, and was succeeded by

*KEAULIN* his eldest Son, who, being elected Monarch also after his Father's death, carried the Prerogatives of that Dignity to a very high Degree. After he had brought the neighbouring Princes into Subjection, he gave them reason to fear, by his seizing upon the Kingdom of *Sussex*, after *Cissa's* Death, that his Design was to reduce all *England* into one Kingdom. To make sure of *Sussex*, he went and kept his Court at *Chichester*, leaving the Government of *Wesssex* to *Ceolrick* his Nephew, whom he design'd for his Successor. His Ambition caus'd all the other Kings, *Ceolrick* not excepted, to enter into a League against him. He was vanquish'd by the King of *Kent*, who commanded the Confederate Army, and forc'd to fly to some unknown Corner, where he ended his days soon after. His Wars with the *Britons* and *Aidan* King of *Scotland* were related in the second Book.

*CEOLRICK*, having mounted the Throne upon the Death of his Uncle, acted nothing remarkable. He died in 598, and was succeeded by

*CEOLWULPH* his Brother, of whom all we know is, that in 607 he reduc'd to obedience the *South-Saxons*, who had revolted. He died in 611; his Successor was

*CINIGISIL*, his Nephew, the Son of *Ceolrick*, who a Year after his Coronation made *QUICELM* his brother his Partner in the Government, or rather divided between them the Kingdom of *Wesssex*. The two Brothers obtained in 614 a signal Victory over the *Britons*.

I have

KEN-  
RICK.  
534.

H. Hunt.

KEAU-  
LIN.  
560.

H. Hunt.  
Fl. Wig.  
M. West.

Fl. Wig.  
592.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 2.  
Fl. Wig.  
in Gen.

CEOLRICK  
594.  
Fl. Wig.  
G. Malm.  
An. Sax.  
CEOL-  
WULPH.  
598.  
Fl. Wig.  
H. Hunt.

CINIGISIL  
611.  
and QUI-  
CELM.  
612.  
614.  
H. Hunt.

I have already given an Account of *Quicelm's* Wars with *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*, and shall have further occasion to mention him in the History of the Church, and therefore shall say no more of him here. *Quicelm* turn'd Christian a little before his Death, which happen'd in 636.

CINIGISIL.  
alone.  
636.

*CINIGISIL*, who had embrac'd the Christian Religion some time before his Brother, in 635, reign'd alone till his Death. He left his Crown to

CENOWALCH.  
643.

*CENOWALCH* his Son, whose Reign was exceedingly pester'd with Wars by the Kings of *Mercia*. *Penda*, whose Sister he had married and divorc'd, fell upon him when he least expected it, and compell'd him to abandon his Kingdom, and fly for refuge to *Annas* King of the *East-Angles*, where he remain'd the three Years *Penda* kept possession of *Wessex*. *Cenowalch* was converted in *East-Anglia*, and at length restor'd to his Kingdom by the Assistance of *Annas*.

645.  
646.  
648.  
652.  
Malm.

In 652 he obtain'd a signal Victory over the *Welsh*, which was follow'd by another in 658.

An. Sax.  
H. Hunt.  
661.  
Æthelw.  
l. 2. c. 7.  
G. Malm.  
An. Sax.  
Fl. Wig.  
H. Hunt.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 2.

Some years after, he was at War with *Wulpher*, Successor to *Penda*; but we know not which was the Aggressor, or what was the Success of the War. Some tell us *Wulpher* was defeated and taken Prisoner. Others say, he had the Better, which seems to me the most likely. It is certain *Wulpher* subdu'd *Sussex* and the Isle of *Wight*, which he cou'd not have done, if *Cenowalch* had been able to oppose him. However this be, *Cenowalch* died in 672, and left his Crown to

SEXBURGE.  
672.  
Id.  
Id.  
Fl. Wig.

*SEXBURGE* his Wife, a Princess of a great Courage, and of an elevated and extensive Genius, and possess'd of all the Qualifications necessary for the well governing a Kingdom. She reign'd but One Year, and then died, as some say, but according to others, was depos'd by the *West-Saxons*, who thought it a Dishonour to obey a Woman.

Fl. Wig. in  
Gen.

After the Death or Expulsion of *Sexburge*, the Kingdom was divided among several of the *Great Men*, of whom *Censu*, a Prince of the Royal Blood, and descended from

*Cerdick*,



*Cerdick*, was the Chief. We have no Particulars concerning the cantoning out the Kingdom, which however was united again into one Body, after these petty Tyrants were either dead or drove out.

*CENFUS* in 674 made his Son *Eswin* Partner with him, and in all Probability, he was forc'd to let *CENTWIN* Brother to the late King *Cenowalch*, reign also in some Part of the Kingdom. CENFUS: 673.

The Year following, *Wulpher* attack'd the Kings of *Wesssex*, whose Army was commanded by *Eswin*: A bloody Battle was fought, in which *Wulpher* had the Advantage; tho' the Loss on both Sides was very great. H. Hunt. l. 2.

*Census* died two Years after, and *Eswin* his Son did not long survive him. Thus *Centwin* remained sole King of *Wesssex*.

*CENTWIN* in 682 obtain'd a signal Victory over the *Welsh*, upon which *Cadwallader* their King was forc'd to sue for Aid from the King of *Armorica*: The *Welsh* Prince afterwards took a Journey to *Rome* where he died. CENTWIN: 676. H. Hunt. An. Sax. M. West. Fl. Wig.

Towards the End of *Centwin's* Reign, *Cedwalla* a Prince of the Blood-Royal of *Wesssex*, had so gain'd the Affections of the People, that the King, being jealous of him, order'd him to depart the Kingdom. *Cedwalla*, not being able to dispute the King's Command, retir'd into *Sussex*; and as he was well belov'd, a great many young People chose to accompany him, and follow his Fortunes: So that he enter'd *Sussex* with a sort of an Army. *Adelwalch*, then King of *Sussex*, angry at *Cedwalla's* presuming to come in a warlike Manner into his Dominions without his Permission, wou'd have drove him thence, but was slain in the Skirmish. Upon this, *Cedwalla* wou'd have seiz'd the Kingdom, but was prevented by *Authun* and *Berthun*, as hath been related. Whilst this was doing, *Centwin* happen'd to die, and *Cedwalla* returning to *Wesssex* was plac'd on the Throne. Id. l. 3. de Pon. Bede, l. 4. c. 5. An. Sax. Fl. Wig.

*CEDWALLA* was not only King of *Wesssex*, but likewise Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*. His first War was against *Authun* and *Berthun*, spoken of before. CEDWALLA: 685. Fl. Wig.

D d

H e

He turn'd his Arms next against *Kent*, from whence he carried off a great Booty. Then he attack'd the Isle of *Wight*, which belong'd to the King of *Sussex*, ever since *Wulpher* had given it to *Adelwalch*. *Arwald* the Brother of *Authun*, being then Governor of the Isle, undertook to defend it; but as *Cedwalla's* Forces were vastly Superior to his in Numbers, he was forc'd at last to abandon the Isle to the Mercy of the Conqueror. The Inhabitants being all Idolaters, *Cedwalla*, out of a false Zeal for Religion, resolv'd to root them out, and people the Place with Christians. He wou'd have put his barbarous Resolution in Practice, had not *Wilfrid*, formerly Bishop of *York*, and then Bishop of *Selsey* in *Sussex*, represented to him that he wou'd act a much better Part in endeavouring their Conversion. Upon this, *Cedwalla* dropt his cruel Purpose, but it was on Condition they would all immediately receive Baptism. The wretched Inhabitants, who had no Time given them to deliberate, embrac'd the Christian Religion at the first Preaching of *Birwin* a Priest, the Nephew of *Wilfrid*, who was entrusted with their Conversion, if the bare Declaration of People threatned with Death in Case of Refusal, may be call'd by that Name.

Some Time after, *Cedwalla* sent his Brother *Mollon* with an Army into *Kent*. The miserable Death of *Mollon* there, and the terrible Manner *Cedwalla* reveng'd it, have already been related in the History of that Kingdom.

At length *Cedwalla* resolv'd upon going to *Rome* to receive Baptism at the Hands of the Pope; for altho' he was a Christian and a great Zealot, he had never been Baptiz'd. He perform'd this Journey in 688. As he travell'd thro' *France* and *Lombardy*, he was every where receiv'd in a very honourable Manner. *Cunibert* King of the *Lombards*, was particularly remarkable for the noble Entertainment he gave him. When he came to *Rome*, he was Baptiz'd by Pope *Sergius* I. who gave him the Name of *Peter*. He had all along wish'd to die soon after his Baptism, and he had his Desire, for he died a few Weeks after at *Rome*. He was buried in St. *Peter's* Church, where a stately Tomb was erected to his Memory, with an Epitaph

showing

687.

G. Malm.

l. i. c. i.

Bromp.

Polychr.

688.

Bede.

l. 5. c. 7.

Id.

688.

showing his Name, Quality, Age, and the Time of his Death (a). He left Issue by *Cendrih* his Queen, two Sons, who did not succeed him, by reason of their tender Age. *Ina* his Relation mounted the Throne after him.

Of all the Kings that reign'd in *England* during the *Heptarchy*, *INA* was one of the most famous and illustrious: They must have had a very good Opinion of him, since the same Year he was crown'd, he was declar'd Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons* in a General Convention, where *Sebba* King of *Essex*, his Friend, serv'd him effectually.

*Ina's* Wars with the *Britons* in *Cornwal*, with the Kings of *Kent*, with the *South-Saxons*, and King of *Mercia*, render'd his Valour, Merit, and Abilities the more conspicuous. But as Historians have only told us in two Words the Success, without mentioning the Motives of these Wars, it is impossible to give a particular Account of them. They inform us that he carried his Arms into *Kent*, where they had no other way to get rid of him, but by giving him a large Sum of Money: That in 710, he conquer'd part of *Cornwal*: That in 715, *Ina* and *Ceolred* fought a bloody Battle at *Wodensburg* in *Wiltshire*, with equal Loss on both Sides. That lastly, he reduc'd to Obedience the *South-Saxons*, who had revolted, and plac'd one *Albert* on their Throne.

These are the Exploits that gain'd *Ina* his Reputation for War. But the *Panegyricks* bestow'd on him by Historians, were not owing to these so much, as to four other Particulars, which seem'd to them of greater Importance, and which they chiefly insisted on. (1.) He rebuilt *Glassenbury* Monastery, and augmented its Revenues and Privileges in such a Manner, that it became One of the most Considerable in all *England*. (2.) He publish'd a Body of Laws, entitled *West-Saxon Leaga*, that is,

D d 2

Laws

(a) Hic depositus est *Cedwalla*, qui & *Petrus*, Rex Saxonum, Sub xii. Cal. Maij, Indictione Secunda, qui vixit annos plus minus triginta, imperante Domino Justiniano Pissimo Augusto, Anno ejus consulationis quarto, Pontificante Apostolico viro Sergio Papa Secundo.

INAI  
688.

Ass. Men.

694.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 2.  
Polychr.  
l. 5. c. 20.An. Sax.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 4.  
722.An. Sax.  
Fl. Wig.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 4.



G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 2.

727.  
M. West.

*Laws of the West-Saxons*, which serv'd for a Rough-Draught to *Alfred the Great* his Successor. (3.) He signaliz'd his Piety by quitting his Crown and turning Monk, an Action that in those Days was look'd upon as an undoubted Mark of Religion. This he did by the Perswasion of *Ethelburga* his Queen, to which she had prepar'd him by frequently setting before his Eyes, the Examples of so many Kings his Predecessors, that had gone before him in it, and for that reason were honour'd as *Saints*. (4.) But what contributed the most to his Fame, was this: Before he shut himself up in a Monastery, he went to *Rome*, where after he had conferr'd with Pope *Gregory II.* about it, he built a large College, for the Instruction and Reception of the *English Ecclesiasticks*, that shou'd come to study at *Rome*, and for the entertainment of and Conveniency of Lodging the Kings and Princes of the same Nation, that shou'd have a Mind to pay a Visit to the Tombs of the Apostles. Close to the College, he built also a stately Church, and appointed a certain Number of Priests to officiate in it. Besides the Charge of the Buildings, of the Ornaments of the Church, and of the Necessaries of the College, there was an absolute Necessity of settling some standing Fund for their Maintenance, according to the Intent of the Founder. Now *Ina* had taken Care of this, by laying a Tax of a *Penny* on every Family in the Kingdoms of *Wessex* and *Sussex*, which was to be sent yearly to *Rome*, under the Name of *Rome-scor*. Some Time after *Offa* King of *Mercia*, laid the same Tax on the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, and term'd it *Peter-pence*. Some say *Ina* return'd into *England* to have this Tax settled by the *General Assembly*, or *Parliament* of *Wessex*, and to get the *Charter* sign'd by all the Nobility of the Kingdom: which done, he return'd to *Rome*, where he took upon him the *Monkish Habit*. *Ethelburga*, who had advis'd him to it only because she had a Mind to become a *Nun* herself, put on the Veil in the Monastery of *Barking*.

*Malmsbury* is mistaken in saying *Ina* was 62 Years on the Throne of *Wessex*, since it is certain he had not reign'd, but

but 37 or at most but 39 Years, when he resign'd his Crown to *Adelard* his Cousin.

Tho' *ADELARD* was plac'd on the Throne with the Consent of the *Assembly General*, *Osmond*, one of the Royal Family, disputed the Possession of it with him. Their Quarrel was decided by a Battle, wherein the King was victorious over his Rival, whose Death, which happen'd shortly after, restor'd Peace and Tranquillity to the Kingdom. *Adelard* died in 740, and was succeeded by

*CUDRED* his Brother or Cousin, of whom we have the following Particulars.

In 743, He obtain'd a signal Victory over the *Cornish-Men*. Two Years after, *Ethelun*, a *West-Saxon* Lord, dissatisfied at something, stirr'd up a Sedition among the Soldiers, in which *Kenrick* the Son of *Cudred*, was slain. This was follow'd by a *Civil War*, which lasted some time. *Ethelun* being at the Head of the Rebels, fear'd not to give his Sovereign Battle, wherein the King, tho' not without great difficulty, came off Conqueror. During the Fight *Ethelun* gave such notable Proofs of an undaunted Courage, and a good Conduct, that the King chose rather to receive him into favour, than destroy a Subject that might be of service to him. Accordingly it was the same *Ethelun*, that in 752 vanquish'd *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*, in a Battle mention'd in the History of that Kingdom.

*Cudred* turn'd his victorious Troops against the *Britons* of *Cornwall*, and conquer'd Part of their Country, which he united to *Wessex*. He died a little after, and left his Crown to

*SIGEBERT* his Nephew, who, by his Vices and Cruelties, drew on himself the Hatred and Contempt of his Subjects. A certain *Count* having expostulated with him concerning his Conduct, he order'd him to be put to Death in his Presence. This Action made the *West-Saxons* lose all Patience; they publickly depos'd him, and plac'd on the Throne *Cenulph*, the Son of *Adelard*. *Sigebert* finding he cou'd have no Redress, was forc'd to

ADEL-  
ARD.727.  
G. Malm.  
l. 1. c. 2.

An. Sax.

CUDRED.  
740.

743.

An. Sax.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 4.  
750.752.  
Bed. Ep.  
contin.753.  
An. Sax.SIGE-  
BERT.  
754.  
H. Hunt.  
l. 4.  
Fl. Wig.

to acquiesce in the Sentence of the States, and to betake himself to a Forest, where he was kill'd by a Swineherd.

CEN-  
ULPH.

754.  
An. Sax.  
G. Malm.  
1. r. c. 2.  
H. Hunt.  
1. 4.  
R. Hov.

*CENULPH* became very famous for his frequent Victories over the *Britons*.

After he had reigned 30 Years, he entertain'd a Suspicion against *Cunehard*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, and perhaps not without Grounds. *Cunehard* being inform'd the King had a Design to dispatch him out of the way, was resolv'd to be before-hand with him. To this End, having spied him one day, as he went alone to visit a certain Lady whom he admir'd, he follow'd him, with some of his Friends, into the House and attack'd him. *Cenulph* defended himself furiously, and even wounded his Enemy, but at last overpower'd with Numbers, sunk down with his Wounds. The King's Officers and Domesticks running in at the Noise and finding him dead, fell upon *Cunehard* and slew him, not regarding the large Offers he made Them, if they wou'd spare his life and place him on the Throne. *Brithrick* the Son of *Cenulph* succeeded his Father.

BRITH-  
RICK.

784.  
787.  
Fl. Wig.

*BRITHRICK*, three Years after he was made King, married *Edburga*, the Daughter of *Offa* King of *Mercia*, and about the same Time drove *Egbert* into Banishment. *Egbert* was a Prince of the Royal-Family, who by his noble Qualities had gain'd the Affections of the *West-Saxons* to such a Degree, that the King cou'd not but take Umbrage at it. This was enough for *Brithrick*, in order for his own Quiet, to send him out of the way. *Egbert* retir'd at first to the Court of *Offa* King of *Mercia*: but he met not there with the Reception he expected, *Offa* being unwilling to disoblige his Son-in-law *Brithrick* by harboring a Prince that was hateful to him. This made *Egbert* resolve upon going into *France*, where he was very civilly receiv'd by *Charles the Great*, who show'd him, upon several Occasions, Marks of his Esteem. During his Stay at this Court, which was 12 Years, he very much improv'd his natural Abilities, and render'd himself capable of going thro' with the Grand Design of uniting the seven Kingdoms of the *Anglo-Saxons* into one Monarchy, as we shall see presently.

During



During the Reign of *Brithrick*, the *Danes* made their first Descent on the Kingdom of *Wesssex*. They began at that time to be dreaded, not only at Sea, but on the Coasts of several *European* Kingdom. As they did the *English* incredible Damage, it is not without reason Historians have exactly mark'd the Time of their first Descent upon *England*.

*Brithrick* in 799 was poison'd by *Edburga* his wife. The *West-Saxons* were so provok'd at this Action, that before they proceeded to the Election of a new King, they made a Law prohibiting the Wives of their future Kings from taking the Title of *Queens*, and sitting on the Throne with their Husbands. And lest the Complaisance of the Kings to their Wives might occasion the breaking this Law, it was further enacted, that Hereafter, if any King of *Wesssex* shou'd dispense with the observance of it, he shou'd, *ipso facto*, be depriv'd of his Royal Rights, and his Subjects absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance.

This Matter being settled, an honorable Ambassy was sent by the *West-Saxons* to *Egbert*, to offer him the Crown. *Egbert* was then at *Rome* with *Charles the Great*, who was invested there, soon after, with the Imperial Crown. Here it was he took his leave of that great Prince, who had been a Father to him, and who at his Departure gave him fresh Marks of his Affection.

Queen *Edburga*, having left *Wesssex* upon poisoning her Husband, fled also to *Charles the Great*, who, on account of the Friendship between him and her Father *Offa*, gave her a Rich *Abby*, where she might have spent the Remainder of her Days in Peace. But as that Way of Life was not agreeable to her Constitution, she behav'd her self so ill in it, that being detected of an Amour with a Young *English* Gentlemen, the Emperor was forc'd to send her off. She wandred about from Place to Place for some time, and at last went and ended her days at *Pavia* in great Want,

**EGBERT**, besides the Valour which was natural to all the *Saxon* Princes, had one Qualification that gave him the Pre-eminence above all the other Kings his Contemporaries, which was, his great Knowledge in *Politicks*, acquir'd

799.  
or  
800.  
G. Malm.  
l. 2. c. 1.  
A.E. Men.

EGBERT.  
800.

quir'd during his Abode at the Court of *Charles the Great*, whose Example and Instructions no doubt had not a little contributed towards it. He was no sooner on the Throne of *Wessex*, but he perceiv'd himself Superior to the other Kings, and resolv'd to take the Advantage of it. But like an able Politician, he judg'd, in order to bring about his Designs, it was necessary to proceed leisurely and Step by Step. To this End, he spent the first seven Years of his Reign in settling the Affairs of his own Kingdom and in gaining the Love and Affection of his own Subjects, in which he succeeded to his Wish.

The Kingdom of *Wessex* being bounded on the *South* by the Sea, and on the *North* by the *Thames*, it was very natural for *Egbert* to begin the enlarging his Bounds either *Eastwards* or *Westwards*. To the *East* lay the Kingdom of *Kent*, which wou'd have been very handy for Him; but as it was then in Subjection to *Cenulph* King of *Mercia*, a Prince of distinguish'd worth, and Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, it wou'd have been doubtless running Counter to his Designs, to have begun with *Kent*. And therefore, whilst he waited for a more favorable Juncture, *Egbert* thought proper to turn his Arms first *Westwards* against the *Britons* of *Cornwal*. His Success was so great in a War he begun in 809, that in one Campaign he reduc'd all *Cornwal* to his obedience.

809.

810.

\* In British  
Gwenydh

811.

812.

813.

The *Welsh* having design'd to assist their Brethren in *Cornwall*, gave *Egbert* a Pretence to attack them the year following. He defeated them several Times, and at last subdued the Kingdom of *Venedotia*\*, One of the Three *Wales* was then divided into. The Struggles of the *Welsh* afterwards to shake off their Yoke, made it but fit the heavier upon them. *Egbert* returning again, destroy'd all with Fire and Sword, which made them take Care how they provok'd him a third Time to come among them.

819.

At length the Death of *Cenulph* gave *Egbert* room to think in good earnest of putting his Designs in Execution. He was immediately invested with the Dignity of Monarch, to which none had a better Claim than himself. His Kingdom was in a flourishing Condition, whilst the rest, weaken-

ened by their intestine Discords, daily lost somewhat of their Lustre and Power. The *Heptarchy* was reduc'd to five Kingdoms, of which his was One of the most considerable. In the four others, the Race of their antient Kings being extinct, nothing ensu'd but Quarrels and Dissentions among the *Grandeess*, who all thought they had a Right to aspire to the Crown : And therefore so far were they from regarding the *Publick Good*, that they minded only their own Interests, and the forming *Parties* and *Cabals* to support them in their ambitious Pretensions. On the contrary, the Kingdom of *Wesssex* became every day more powerful, by the wise Management of him that was at the Helm, whose Valour was equal to his Judgment and Ability in the most refin'd *Politicks*. This put *Egbert* upon pushing on the Execution of his Grand Project, of reducing *England* into one Kingdom. Almost all the preceeding Monarchs had form'd the same Design, which if it prov'd abortive, it was only because it was not well-tim'd. But soon after *Egbert's* being declar'd Monarch, every thing conspir'd to favour Him. *Northumberland* was long since torn in pieces by two Factions, who, little attentive to what was transacted Abroad, were watchful only how to supplant one another. *Mercia* was in no better Condition. *Bernulph*, who had depos'd *Ceolwulph*, reign'd only by the Support of a powerful Party, by whose Interest he had been plac'd on the Throne, but who cou'd hardly maintain him in it, on Account of the Envy and Jealousy of the Nobility at his Greatness. For this Reason, tho' that Kingdom was considerably enlarg'd by the Acquisition of *East-Anglia*, and tho' *Kent* was become Tributary to it, yet was it far from being so Powerful as *Wesssex*. The *East-Angles*, not yet thoroughly settled in the state of Subjection *Offa* had reduc'd them to, sought only a favourable Opportunity to throw off the *Mercian Yoke*, which to them was intolerable. The Wars the Kings of *Kent* had wag'd against the *West-Saxons* and *Mercians*, had brought them so low, that they cou'd not avoid becoming tributary to the *Mercians*, and consequently,



were not in a Condition to stand against *Egbert*. As for *Essex*, besides that there is reason to presume it was in Subjection to *Mercia*, it had been for a long while very inconsiderable, and if it was still govern'd by *Swithred*, which is uncertain, that Prince must have been of an extreme old Age.

These Considerations enflaming the more the Ambition of *Egbert*, he began his Preparations, the which having rais'd a Suspicion in the King of *Mercia*, he thought betimes of providing for his own Safety. Tho' he was ignorant that *Egbert* had in View the Conquest of all *England*, yet he cou'd not doubt but he design'd to enlarge his Dominions at the Expence of his Neighbours. And therefore, dreading the Storm might on a sudden fall on him, he believed that by attacking him before he was ready, he shou'd break his Measures and compell him to be quiet. To this End, he advanc'd with his Army as far as *Ellandunum* \* near *Salisbury*, where, contrary to his Expectations, he met the Enemy, whom he thought to have surpris'd unawares. The two Armies coming to an Engagement, the *Mercians* were routed with so great Loss, that it was not possible for *Bernulph* ever to retrieve it.

\* or Wilton.

This Victory was of great Consequence to *Egbert*, more especially upon two Accounts. 1st. As it very much weaken'd the King of *Mercia*, who alone was able to make Head against him. 2dly. As it open'd the Way to the Conquest of *Kent*, to which *Bernulph* himself had given him an Handle, by attacking him first. This Conquest was absolutely necessary for him, in order to his becoming Master of all the Country between the *Thames* and the Sea. Besides, by beginning with *Kent*, he had no need to fear alarming the *Northumbrians*, who were at too great a Distance to concern themselves much about what was doing *South* of the *Thames*.

*Egbert* therefore sent *Ethelwolph* his Son with a powerful Army into *Kent*. *Baldred*, unprepar'd against an Invasion, pressed in vain the King of *Mercia* to come and assist him. *Bernulph* was disabled, by his late Defeat, from bringing

an

an Army so soon again into the Field. Besides, *Egbert* had so posted himself, that it was not possible for him to send any Succours into *Kent*, without marching them thro' the Heart of his Army; which as he was not in a Condition to attempt, *Baldred*, weak as he was, found himself forc'd to bear the Burthen of the War alone. However he hazarded a Battle; but being vanquish'd, he retreated into *Mercia*, leaving his Kingdom to the young *West-Saxon* Prince, who soon became Master of it. Thus the Kingdom of *Kent* was united to those of *Wessex* and *Sussex*, and by that means *Egbert* saw himself in Possession of the whole Country lying South of the *Thames*.

After this, he conquer'd *Essex*; which is all Historians say of it, without mentioning any one Particular: So imperfect is the History of that Kingdom.

Tho' the subduing these two Kingdoms was a great step towards the Conquest of the rest, yet the most difficult Task was still behind; the Conquest of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*. Had these three Kingdoms been in their former Splendor, each of them alone wou'd have found Work enough for *Egbert*. Nay, had they but enter'd into a strict Alliance for their common Defence, at the time he was about to attack them, they might perhaps have put him out of all Hopes of subduing them. But their intestine Divisions prevented them from making so necessary an Alliance. The *East-Angles*, were waiting only for an Opportunity of revolting against the King of *Mercia*. The *Northumbrians* for some time had liv'd in a sort of Anarchy, which hinder'd them from taking any Measures with regard to Foreign Affairs. So far were they from any thoughts of assisting their Neighbours, that they sought only how to destroy one another, in which they were but too successful. *Mercia* indeed seem'd still powerful enough; but the *Mercians* were in no greater Union among themselves, than the *Northumbrians*, and besides, the Battle of *Ellandunum* had considerably weaken'd them; whereas *Wessex* was grown stronger by the Conquest of two Kingdoms.

*Egbert* beholding with Pleasure how all things conspir'd to favour his Designs, resolv'd upon invading *Mercia* in the first Place, plainly foreseeing, that cou'd he carry that Kingdom, the Conquest of the others wou'd easily follow. *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* made but one Body ever since *Offa* had united them. But as this Union was not cemented by the mutual Affection of the two Nations, it was rather destructive than advantageous to the State. The *East-Angles* look'd upon the *Mercians* as their hateful Masters; whilst they on the other hand, treated the *East-Angles* in an haughty Manner, as a conquer'd Nation. This being the Case, it was much more easy for *Egbert* to foment their mutual Hatred, than it was for them to reap the Benefit of their Union. For this Reason *Egbert*, to come at his Ends with the less Difficulty, increased their Animosity to the utmost of his Power, not doubting, but cou'd he once bring them to an open Rupture, they wou'd weaken one another so as never to be able to resist him more. It is strange, that since Nobody is ignorant of this Maxim, *We must divide those whom we wou'd destroy*, it shou'd so frequently happen that they against whom it is put in Practice, shou'd attend so little to it. The *East-Angles*, blinded by their extreme Desire of freeing themselves from the *Mercian* Yoke, without a Moment's Consideration, follow'd the Advice *Egbert* had given them underhand, of taking up Arms in order to regain their Liberty. Their Attention to their present Interest, prevented them from reflecting, that after they had been subservient to *Egbert's* Designs, they wou'd be less able to defend themselves against him, than against the *Mercians*. It is true, *Egbert*, pretending their Interest was his only Aim, laid before them, all that was most likely to excite them to a Revolt. His Emissaries told them, they had never had so favourable an Opportunity of recovering their Liberty: That the *Mercians* were so extremely weaken'd since the Battle of *Ellandunum*, that they were but ill able to tyrannize any longer over the *East-Angles*: That besides, *Egbert* was so incens'd against *Berwulph*, that he wou'd not scruple to assist them, having  
publickly



publickly declar'd as much. This was enough to induce the *East-Angles* to revolt. The Pleasure of thinking they should be freed from the *Mercians*, drove out of their Heads the fear of becoming subject to the *West-Saxons*. Thus resolv'd, they took up Arms, and chose a General, whose Name Historians have omitted. *Bernulph* inform'd of their Proceedings, thought he cou'd not be too speedy in putting a Stop to an Evil, that seem'd to be of a dangerous Consequence. With the first Troops he cou'd draw together, he march'd against them; but instead of chastizing them, as he vainly hop'd, was defeated and slain.

The *East-Angles* were mightily encourag'd by this good Beginning; however the *Mercians*, not at all disheartn'd, made fresh Attempts to reduce them to Obedience. They forthwith elected a King, nam'd *Ludican*, who set about carrying on the War, whilst the *East-Angles* were preparing to receive him, in hopes the King of *Wessex* wou'd not fail them upon Occasion, as he had promis'd them. *Ludican* actually enter'd *East-Anglia* with a numerous Army; but Death prevented him from making any Progress, and render'd his Preparations for that Campaign of no Effect. Some say, he was slain in Battle: Others affirm, the *East-Angles*, out of a Dread of him, found the means to have him assassinated.

Whether the *Mercians* had found that *Egbert* privately assisted the *East-Angles*, or whether the Conquests that Prince had already made, had open'd their Eyes, they were sensible at length, that the maintaining their Dominion over *East-Anglia*, was not so much the Business of the present War, as the Preservation of their own Liberties. Perswaded of this, they resolv'd to exert their Utmost, and chuse a King of known Valour, without troubling themselves about Parties, which 'till then had kept them divided. They pitch'd upon *Witglaph*, a Lord of great Merit, whose Son had married a Daughter of King *Cenulph*. If the new King had been to deal with the *East-Angles* only, in all likelihood he wou'd soon have put an End to the War. But as Matters stood, so far was he from being able

able to reduce *East-Anglia*, that he found he had enough to do to defend his own Dominions. *Egbert* fearing the Election of a King, whose Valour he was no stranger to, might give a new turn to Affairs, forthwith declar'd openly for the *East-Angles*. Hitherto he had assisted them only underhand, at least he had not made himself a Party in the War which he had fomented, purely that they might weaken each other. But as soon as the Preparations of the *Mercians* gave him Ground to fear the Balance wou'd lean too much on their Side, he thought himself oblig'd to take other Measures, by publicly assisting the *East-Angles* and declaring War against the *Mercians*. *Witglaph* did all in his Power to withstand the united Forces of the *East-Angles* and *West-Saxons*. He even frequently tried his Fortune in little Skirmishes and Conflicts, but always with ill Success. At last, having lost a great Battle, and finding his Case desperate, he fled to the Abby of *Crowland*, where he lay conceal'd three Months. In the mean Time, *Egbert* pursuing his Victory, became Master of *Mercia*, without any farther Opposition. He design'd to have united it to the rest of his Dominions, but by the Mediation of *Siward* Abbot of *Crowland*, *Witglaph* was restor'd to his Kingdom, on Condition he should pay Homage, and become Tributary to the Conqueror.

After the *East-Angles* had been thus instrumental to *Egbert's* Designs, they were glad to be receiv'd into his Protection, on almost the same Terms with the *Mercians*, so that all they gain'd by the War, was the Change of one Master for another.

*Northumberland* alone remain'd as yet unconquer'd; but that Kingdom was not in a Condition to hold out long, considering the ill Situation of its Affairs. *Andred*, who then reign'd, was a King in Name only: His Faction had plac'd him on the Throne, not that He, but that They thro' him might reign. Besides, the Kingdom was continually rent and distracted by Parties, and frequently invaded by the *Scots*, who had over-run great part of it. It was not possible therefore for the *Northumbrians*

ans to withstand the victorious Arms of the King of *Wessex*, or rather, of all the rest of *England*. Accordingly, when *Egbert* approach'd with the Army that had already conquer'd four Kingdoms, *Andred* and the *Northumbrians*, in great Consternation, and unable to make Head against him, submitted themselves, and accepted of the same Terms, granted to the *Mercians* and *East-Anglians*.

Thus ended the *Heptarchy* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, by the *seven Kingdoms*, being all reduc'd under the Dominion of the King of *Wessex*. Indeed *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, preserv'd still a shadow of Liberty; but it is very probable *Egbert* would not have suffer'd other Kings to have been chosen, after the Death of those who were then on the Throne, if the *Danes*, who shortly after began their Invasions, would have given him Time to have taken other Measures.

The *Heptarchy*, dating its Beginning from the Founding of *Mercia*, the last of the *seven Kingdoms*, lasted 243 Years: But if you reckon from the Arrival of *Hengist*, it lasted 378.

If we enquire after the Causes of the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, they will be found to be very obvious. One of the chief Reasons was, the great Inequality amongst the *seven Kingdoms*, three whereof vastly surpass'd the rest, in Extent and Power. Hardly was the *Heptarchy* founded, but the Kings of *Wessex* look'd upon *Sussex* and *Kent* as extremely convenient for them, and accordingly both the One and the Other subdued them at different Times. The Kings of *Mercia* had all along an Eye on the Kingdom of *Essex*. It even appears they were Masters of it for some Time, and in all likelihood it was not entirely free, when *Egbert* conquer'd and united it to his other Dominions. *East-Anglia* was an Object that continually inflamed the Desires of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, the first of whom carried it at length.

Another Reason of the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, was the Default of Male-Heirs in the Royal Families  
of



of all the Kingdoms, *Wessex* excepted. Hence arose those Dissentions among the *Great Men*, which exceedingly weaken'd their respective States. We may assign more-over as another Reason, the meeting together of so many different Circumstances, which never happen'd but in the Time of *Egbert*. But chiefly it was owing to the Direction of the *Providence* of God, whose good Pleasure it was to raise *England* by Degrees, and after several Revolutions, to that Height of Grandeur and Power it is in at present.

It remains now that I speak of the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons* to the Christian Religion, and give a Representation of the *Church of England* in her *Primitive* State, wherein consists the main of the *English* History during the *Heptarchy*.



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*The State of the CHURCH of  
ENGLAND, from the Conver-  
sion of the ENGLISH, to the  
Dissolution of the HEPTAR-  
CHY.*

**I**N order to have a clear Knowledge of the Manner of the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons, England* must be consider'd, not as it is now, One, but as divided into seven distinct Kingdoms. These Kingdoms not receiving the Gospel all at one Time, it will be necessary to consider each of them apart. To this End, I am now going to relate how every one of them in particular was converted, and what remarkable Events, with regard to Religion, happen'd in each Kingdom, from the Founding of their Churches, to the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, in the Reign of *Egbert* the first *Sole Monarch* of *England*.

*The Church of KENT.*

I shall begin with the Kingdom of *Kent*, as it was the first converted. But seeing several Things concurr'd to the producing this Event, it will be necessary, in order to have a just Notion of the Matter, to mention them all in this Place.

I have spoken in the History of *Kent*, of *Ethelbert's* Power over the rest of the Kings of the *Heptarchy*, and intimated, that his Neighborhood to, and Alliance with, *France*, did not a little contribute towards it. For this reason it was, that He did all that lay in his Power to en-

*The State of  
the Church  
of Kent.*

Thorn.  
Bede, l. 1.  
c. 25.

Thorn.

ter into a strict Friendship with that Nation, knowing how advantageous it wou'd be to him. The means he judg'd most proper to this End, was the demanding a *French* Princess in Marriage; and accordingly he cast his Eyes on *Bertha*, the Daughter of *Cherebert* King of *Paris*. He at first met with some Obstacles. *Chilperic*, who since his Brother *Cherebert's* Death had been as a Father to this Princess, wou'd not hear a word of the Match, on account of *Ethelbert's* being an *Idolater*; and this for some time put a stop to the Matter. But *Ethelbert* found the means to bring it on again, by promising to let *Bertha* have the free Exercise of her Religion, and bring over with her a certain Number of Ecclesiasticks. Upon these Terms the Princess was given him in Marriage. *Chilperic* was in hopes that as she was thoroughly grounded in her Religion, she wou'd be so far from turning Heathen herself, that she wou'd contribute to the conversion of the *English* Monarch. And in this he was not deceiv'd. As soon as they came together, she spar'd no Pains to gain his Love and Affection by her affable and condescending Behaviour. *Ethelbert*, charm'd with the good Qualities of his Spouse, had all the Value and Love for her she cou'd desire. This gave *Bertha* room to hope, she shou'd bring the King at length to have favorable Thoughts of the Christian Religion. In order to this, she took all Opportunities of displaying the *Gospel-Truths* so as they might make the deepest Impressions upon him. Besides, the Conversations *Ethelbert* held from time to time with *Luidhard* Bishop of the *Soissons*, who came over with the Queen, very much help'd forward her Design. In a short time, *Ethelbert* was so wrought upon, that if he had not as yet that Respect for the Christian Religion as to embrace it, at least he had no Aversion to it or its Professors.

596.

In this favorable Juncture it was that Pope *Gregory I.* sent *Missionaries* into *England* to instruct the *English* in the Knowledge of the Gospel. *Gildas* and *Bede* reproach the *Britons* bitterly for suffering their Neighbours to live so long in *Paganism*, without offering them their Assistance



ance to draw them out of their Errors. But they blame them without Cause. It is easy to see, that whilst the *Saxons* oppress'd the Natives with all imaginable Cruelties, these last were very unfit Instruments to instruct their Persecutors. Besides their continual Wars gave the *Saxons* no time to turn their Heads to Religious Affairs. But when they came to be settled, Assistance was not wanting, and tho' it came from far, it was no less effectual than if it had come from their Neighbours. As this here is a very remarkable *Epocha* in the *English* History, it will be proper to show the Methods of Divine Providence in bringing about its Designs in favour of this Nation. In order to this, it will be necessary to look back a little to what happen'd before.

About 18 or 20 Years before the Arrival of the *Missionaries* from *Rome*, in the Reign of *Alla* King of *Deira*, some young Children were sent from thence to *Rome* in order to be sold. That Sort of Trade was *then* commonly drove by the *English*, who made no scruple of selling their Children, when they were overstock'd. These young Slaves, being expos'd to sale in the Publick Market, drew the Eyes of vast numbers of People upon them, who cou'd not admire them enough. Among the rest, *Gregory*, Archdeacon of *Rome*, beheld them very attentively. He enquir'd particularly after the Place of their Birth, and the Religion there profess'd. As soon as he was inform'd they were *English*, and born of Idolatrous Parents, he resolv'd upon going to preach the Gospel to that Nation; and having obtain'd the *Pope's* Licence, he prepar'd for his Journey. But the *Romans*, who had a great veneration for him, petition'd the *Pope* not to deprive them of so necessary a Pastor, and the *Pope* complied with their Request. Thus *Gregory's* Design remain'd unexecuted. The Time appointed by God for the Conversion of the *English*, was not yet come; and in all probability, such were the Circumstances the Nation was *then* in, *Gregory's* Undertaking wou'd have met with great Difficulties. All *England* was troubled with Wars and Commo-

Thorn.

597.  
Bede. l. 1.  
c. 25.

not as yet espous'd *Bertha*; his Mind as yet was unprepar'd for the Reception of the Gospel, and he was in no condition to encourage the Design of *Gregory*, when he himself was a Vassal to *Keaulin*. But in process of time, All Things concurr'd to the bringing it about. *Gregory*, now become Bishop of *Rome*, called to mind his former Design of converting the *English*, and tho' by reason of his Dignity, which oblig'd him to reside at *Rome*, he cou'd not go himself, he sent those whom he thought capable of inspiring the People with a Relish for the Gospel. He chose for this Purpose, 40 *Benedictin* Monks, with *Austin* at their head, in quality of Abbot (a). In all appearance, *Bertha* had acquainted the *Pope* how well affected the King her Husband stood with regard to Religion, since they were order'd to land in *Kent*. *Austin* and his Companions having pass'd thro' *France*, where they were supplied with Interpreters, arriv'd at the Isle of *Thanet* in the Year of our Lord 597. As soon as they were landed, he sent to let the King know, that he was come into his Dominions, with a company of very honest Men, to bring him a Message of the greatest Importance, and instruct him in what wou'd procure him everlasting Happiness. Upon this Information, *Ethelbert* order'd them to stay where they were, designing to go himself and hear from their own Mouth the Occasion of their Journey. Some few Days after, he went thither, in company with the Queen, who, in all likelihood, was not ignorant of the reason of *Austin's* Coming. As soon as the King arriv'd, he seated himself in the open Air, being apprehensive, as *Bede* says, of *Charms* or *Spells*, which in the open Field he thought cou'd have no Power over him. Then ordering the Strangers to be call'd before him, he ask'd them what they had to propose. *Austin*, who was the Spokesman, made a long Harangue, preaching the Gospel in a forcible and zealous Manner, says the same Historian, tho' he relates not one word of his Sermon. *Ethelbert*, inform'd by the Interpreters what *Austin* had said, return'd him this Answer: "Your Pro-

posals

(a) He was then *Abbot* of St. *Andrew's* at *Rome*.

“ posals are noble, and your Promises inviting. But I  
 “ can’t resolve upon quitting the Religion of my An-  
 “ cestors, for one that appears to me supported only by  
 “ the Testimony of Persons that are entire Strangers to me.  
 “ However since, as I perceive, you have undertaken so  
 “ long a Journey, on purpose to impart to us what  
 “ you deem most important and valuable, you shall not  
 “ be sent away without some Satisfaction. I will take care  
 “ you are treated civilly in my Dominions, and suppli-  
 “ ed with all things necessary and convenient. And if  
 “ any of my Subjects, convinc’d by what you shall say  
 “ to them, desire to embrace your Religion, I shall not  
 “ be against it.

This first Step being taken, the Queen got leave for the *Missionaries* to settle at *Canterbury*, the Capital of *Kent*; where she took care to provide them with convenient Lodgings, and procur’d them the liberty of preaching to as many as had the Curiosity to hear them. They made so good use of this favourable Juncture, that in a short time several of the principal *Saxons* embrac’d the Christian Faith. The swift Progress of the Gospel at *Canterbury* rais’d the King’s Curiosity to be more particularly instructed in the Nature of the Religion those Strangers preach’d. At length, by the Persuasions of the Queen join’d to his frequent Conferences with *Austin*, He receiv’d Baptism, about a Year after the Arrival of the *Missionaries*. The Conversion of the King being follow’d by that of Multitudes of his Subjects, the Queen’s Chapel, which was without the City \*, soon became too little to hold them. And therefore they were oblig’d to turn one of the Heathen-Temples into a Church, which was dedicated to *St. Pancrace*. Shortly after several other Temples were serv’d in the same Manner by *Ethelbert’s* order, and the Foundations of *Canterbury Cathedral* were laid; which was dedicated to *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and was afterwards call’d *St. Thomas*. *Austin* began also a Monastery which he had not the satisfaction to see finish’d. *Peter*,  
 one

598.  
 Bede.  
 Fl. Wig.  
 Thorn.

\* It was dedicated to *St. Martin*, and had formerly been a Church in the time of the *Romans*. Bede, l. i. c. 26.



Camb. in  
Cantio.

one of his Companions, was the first *Abbot*. It was call'd the Monastery of St. *Augustin*, from its Founder. *Ethelbert* at length leaving *Canterbury* to the *Italian Monks*, went and kept his Court at *Reculver*.

Bede.

Thus began the Conversion of the *Saxons* in *England*. *Austin* and his Fellow-Labourers were the Instruments made use of by *Divine Providence* to turn them from their Idolatrous Superstitions to the Light of the Gospel; a Blessing their Brethren in *Germany* enjoy'd not till 200 Years after, in the Reign of *Charles the Great*. *Ethelbert* promoted to his utmost the Conversion of his Subjects, but without using the least Violence or Compulsion, having learnt of his Instructors, as *Bede* expressly observes, that God requires none to serve him, but those who do it with a willing mind. Well wou'd it be if all Christian Princes were of the same Opinion! The *Saxons* were so eager to embrace the Gospel, that, if Historians may be credited, *Austin* in one day baptis'd ten thousand in the River *Swale*, which runs into the *Thames*.

This swift Progress of the Gospel in *Kent* making *Austin* believe he shou'd meet with the same Success every where, he look'd upon all *England* as already converted. Possess'd with this, he hasten'd to *Arles*, to get himself consecrated Archbishop of the *Saxons*, by *Etherius* [or *Vigilius*,] then Archbishop of that Place. Had he been contented with the bare Title of *Bishop*, one shou'd not have wonder'd at it. But it is really surprising, that he shou'd aspire to the *Archiepiscopal* Dignity, at a time when he had no Bishop under his Jurisdiction. It is true the *Pope* had promis'd to make him an Archbishop, in case his *Mission* met with Success. But then, in all appearance, *Gregory*, by Success, meant the Conversion of the *English* Nation in general, and not of a Part only of one of the least Kingdoms in the *Heptarchy*. How great Progress soever *Austin* had made for the Time he had been in *England*, yet was it nothing in comparison of what remain'd to be done. His haste therefore to be made *Archbishop* and *Primate* of *England*, when there was but one single Church there, does not redound much to his Credit. All that  
can

can be said in his Justification, is, that the Progress of Christianity at *Canterbury*, made him imagine the Conversion of all *England* was at hand. And indeed, not long after his return from *Arles*, he erected an *Episcopal See* at *Rocheſter*, of which *Juſtus*, one of his Companions, was the first Biſhop. Hence 'tis plain, the Goſpel had alſo been preached in that City and made ſome Progress there.

604.

*Auſtin* muſt needs have entertain'd great Hopes of his *Miſſion*, ſince fearing he ſhou'd want *Labourers* in the *Harveſt* that was in View, he ſends *Peter* and *Laurence*, with two others of his Companions, before-hand to *Rome*, to acquaint the *Pope* with his Wants, and inform him how Matters ſtood. He took this Opportunity alſo to deſire the *Pope's* Reſolution of certain Queſtions, which appear'd to him difficult, and at which he foreſaw he might be gravell'd in the Government of the *New Church*.

The Letters of *Auſtin*, and the Accounts of thoſe he had ſent, inspir'd *Gregory* with ſo high a Conceit of this *Miſſion*, that looking upon the Conversion of the *Engliſh* as a done Thing, tho' it was but juſt begun, he ſent the *Pall* \* to *Auſtin*, as a mark of Diſtinction and Honour to this *new Apoſtle*. He order'd him alſo to erect *Biſhops Sees* in ſeveral Places, particularly at *York*, where was to be a *Metropolitan* with twelve *Suffragans*, and that after the Death of one of the two Archbiſhops, the Survivor ſhou'd conſecrate another in his Place, and have the Precedence of him. The Reaſon of this Preference with regard to *York*, was, becauſe it had formerly, under the *Romans*,  
Greg. Ep. 15. l. 11.

\* The *Pall* is a white Piece of Woollen Cloth, about the Breadth of a Border, made round, and thrown over the Shoulders. Upon this are two others of the ſame *Maſter* and *Form*, one of which falls down on the Breſt, and the other on the Back, with each of them a red Croſs, ſeveral Croſſes of the ſame Colour being likewiſe upon the upper Part of it about the Shoulders. This *Pall* is laid upon St. *Peter's* Tomb by the *Pope*, and then ſent away to the reſpective *Metropolitans*; which till they have receiv'd from the See of *Rome*, they can't call a *Council*, bleſs the *Chriſm*, conſecrate *Churches*, or a *Biſhop*, ordain a *Prieſt*, &c. At the delivery of it they were to ſwear *Faith* to the *Pope*. The Antient *Pall*, from the Latin *Pallium*, was an entire and magnificent Habit, deſign'd to put the Biſhop in mind that his Life ſhou'd answer up to the Dignity of his Appearance. *Pet. de Marca.*

Rog. Ven.  
M. Par.

G. Malm.  
l. i. c. 4.

mans, been an Archbishoprick as well as *London* and *Caerleon*. As for this last, as it was in the Hands of the *Britons*, and already an Archbishop's *See*, tho' not under the *Pope's* Jurisdiction, there was no Occasion to mention it. *Gregory's* Intent therefore in making *London* an Archbishoprick, was to restore Things to their former State. But however he afterwards alter'd his Measures at the Instance of *Austin*, who was desirous of procuring that Honour for *Canterbury*, the *Metropolis* of *Kent*, where he had begun to exercise his *Ministerial Functions*. The *Pope's* View then, was only to put things upon an antient Foot, when in his Answer to *Austin*, he told him his Meaning was, that the two Archbishops, of *London* and *York*, shou'd be Independent of one another, yet, at the same time, that *Austin* during his Life, shou'd have a Jurisdiction, as well over them, as all the rest of the Bishops of *Great-Britain*.

But all the Pains *Gregory* was at, came to nothing for the present, since the *Christian* Religion was far enough from extending to *Northumberland*. However, the great Hopes he had conceiv'd, from the Letters and Messengers of *Austin*, made him give Directions concerning the *English* Churches, just as if they had been really founded. Besides these general Orders, he exhorted *Austin*, in the same Letter, not to be elated at his having receiv'd from Heaven the Gift of Miracles, which makes it probable, Word had been sent him, that several Miracles had been wrought by *Austin*. He charg'd him also not to pull down such *Idol Temples* as were fit to be converted into Churches, but to consecrate them by sprinkling *Holy-Water*, and placing *Relicks* under the Altars. And since the *Saxons* had been accusom'd to offer Sacrifices to their Gods on their Festival Days, he advis'd that [upon the Anniversary of the Saints, whose *Relicks* were lodg'd there, or upon the Return of the Day of the Churches Consecration] they shou'd kill some Cattle, and provide an Entertainment, to which they were to invite the *Poor*. At the same time he writ to *Ethelbert* and *Bertha*, exhorting them to persevere in the true Religion, and to help forward

Greg. Ep.  
l. 9. Ep. 59.  
60.



ward the great Work *Austin* had undertaken. *Peter* and *Laurence*, accompanied with *Mellitus*, *Paulinus*, *Ruffinianus*, and some other new *Missionaries*, brought back these Letters, together with *Sacred Vessels*, and *Ornaments* for the *Altars*, *Vestments* for the Priests, *Relicks*, *Books*, and other things necessary for celebrating *Divine Service*. *Austin* receiv'd also the Resolution of the Questions he had sent to the *Pope*. The which, with their Answers, are in Brief as follows.

I. *Question*. How are Bishops to behave with respect to their *Clergy*? Into how many Portions are the *Offerings* at the Altar to be divided? And how ought a Bishop to act in the Church? 601: Bede.

For Satisfaction in the first Point, the *Pope* refers him to *St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy*. To the second he answers, That it was the Custom of the Church to divide the *Offerings* into four Parts; one for the Bishop; another for the Clergy; a third for the Poor; and the fourth, for the Repairs of the Churches. As to the last Article, which wou'd have been very obscure, had not the *Pope* clear'd it up in his Answer, he replies, That *Austin* being a *Monk*, ought not to live apart from the rest of the *Clergy*, but according to the Practice of the *Primitive Christians*, *shou'd have all things in common*. \* He adds, if there were any *Clerks* not admitted into *Holy Orders*, who cou'd not live continently, they were to marry, and receive their Stipends at their own Houses, according to the Words of Scripture, *Distribution was made to each of them according to every one's Wants*. As for other Christians, he says, there was no need to prescribe any Rules in relation to their *Alms-giving*, since our Saviour himself had said, *Give Alms of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you*.

\* Acts iv.  
32.

II. *Question*. Since the Customs of the *Gallican* and *Roman Churches* are not the same, how ought Matters to be manag'd?

The *Pope* advises him to select from each Church, what he thought most convenient for the Church of *England*.

III. *Question.* What Punishment ought to be inflict-  
ed on him that has stole any thing from the *Church*?

*Gregory* replies, the Motives of the Theft must be con-  
sider'd, whether it was done out of Necessity or Covetous-  
ness, and the Punishment to be proportion'd accordingly,  
with Charity and Temper. As for Restitution, God for-  
bid the *Church* shou'd receive more than She lost.

IV. *Question.* Whether two Brothers may marry two  
Sisters, that are no way related to them?

*Gregory* answers, This may be done very lawfully.

V. *Question.* To what Degree of Consanguinity are  
Marriages forbid?

The *Pope* answers, to the second Degree inclusively, and  
no farther. He wou'd not however have those separated,  
who have married within the prohibited Degrees before  
their Conversion, because they did it out of Ignorance. But  
he wou'd have all the *new Converts* charg'd not to presume  
to do any such thing, and in Case they do, to be debar-  
red the *Communion*.

VI. *Question.* Whether a single Bishop may Ordain  
another, without the Assistance of other Bishops, when  
the length of the Journey makes it inconvenient for  
them to meet?

*Gregory* replies; That since *Austin* was now the only Bi-  
shop in *England*, he might consecrate others without any  
Assistance. But in order to avoid the like Inconvenience  
for the future, he wou'd have him place Bishops so, as  
that they might not be at too great a Distance from one  
another.

VII. *Question.* How ought I to manage with the Bi-  
shops of *Gaul*?

The *Pope* tells him, That he allows him no manner of Ju-  
risdiction over them, because he had no Design to deprive  
the Archbishop of *Arles* of the Authority he was in Pos-  
session of.

VIII. *Question.* Whether a Woman with Child ought  
to be Baptiz'd?

The *Pope* answers, He saw no Inconvenience attend-  
ing it.

IX.

IX. *Question.* How long after her Lying-in, ought a Woman to come into the Church?

*Ans.* If She comes into the Church the Minute after her Delivery, She sins not.

X. *Question.* How long after the Birth, ought the baptizing of an Infant to be deferr'd?

*Ans.* A Child may be baptiz'd the Moment he is born.

XI. *Question.* How long, after a Lying-in, must it be before a Man and his Wife come together again?

*Gregory* is very large in his Answer, and takes Occasion to blame *Mothers* for not suckling their own Children, attributing the Rise of so ill a Custom to their Incontinency. And therefore he decides, that the Husband ought not to have to do with his Wife till the Child is wean'd. \*

XII. *Question.* May a Woman, during some certain Times, come into the Church?

The *Pope* says a great deal on this Head, and concludes, Women's *Infirmities* ought to be no Obstacle to their going to Church and praying to God.

XIII. *Question.* May a Man that has lain with his Wife, come into the Church or receive the Sacrament, before he has wash'd himself?

The *Pope* here, as usual, makes a great many Distinctions, and concludes, such a Man had better abstain from both for some Time.

XIV. *Question.* May a Man, after an *Impure Dream*, receive the Communion, or if he be a Priest, administer it?

The *Pope's* Answer is full of Distinctions about what is, and what is not Sin: And concludes at last, a Man in the Case mention'd ought not to *communicate*. He gives leave however, for a Priest in the same Case to administer the Sacrament, if there is no other in the way to officiate for him.

These are the Difficulties *Austin* wanted the *Pope* to resolve him in, the which don't serve to give us any great

G g 2

Idea

\* However he allows those that do not suckle their Children, to come together after the usual Time of Purgation.



Idea of the Abilities of this famous Apostle. However, *Gregory* thought fit to answer them fully and distinctly, as if they had been of the utmost Importance. He had the Conversion of the *English* so much at Heart, that instead of giving *Austin* the least Discouragement, he extoll'd him mightily.

*Austin's* Care was not confin'd to the Conversion of the *Saxons* only. He undertook also, what seem'd to him no less worthy of his Zeal, the bringing the *Welsh* or *British* Bishops to a conformity with the *Roman* Church, and the making them acknowledge the *Pope's* Jurisdiction. It was no easy matter to bring this about. The *Britons* thought they cou'd justify their adhering to the same Rites and Customs they had practis'd ever since the Conversion of *Britain*. Besides, they cou'd not conceive upon what Grounds they were oblig'd to conform to a Church at so great a Distance, or what Advantage the owning the *Pope's* Authority wou'd be to them. These Difficulties did not discourage *Austin*. He had, besides his Zeal for the *See of Rome*, another, and perhaps no less powerful Motive, to induce him to this Undertaking, which was his Claim to the *Primacy* of all *Britain*, by Virtue of the *Pope's* Grant. Now, This he cou'd never hope to make Good, whilst the *British* Churches were not subject to the Jurisdiction of the *Pope*. He applied therefore all his Endeavours to accomplish this Enterprize, which cost him more pains and trouble than the Conversion of the *Saxons*, without having after all the Satisfaction of reaping the Fruits of his Labour.

The Gospel, as I before observ'd, was preach'd in *Britain*, either by the Apostles themselves or by some of their Disciples. From that Time, the *Britons* had constantly adher'd to the Customs and Rules prescrib'd to them by their first Teachers. But the Church of *Rome* had made several Innovations in the celebrating *Divine Service*, to which they pretended all other Churches ought to conform. The opposition the Bishops of *Rome* every where met with, cou'd not make them drop their Pretensions. Altho' this Difference was of no great Consequence, it caus'd however towards the End of the second Century a most

most scandalous Quarrel between *Pope Victor I.* and the Churches of *Asia*; which rose to that Height, that the *Pope* for no other Reason excommunicated them All. This Affair had never been legally decided: Yet for all that the Bishops of *Rome* stuck to their Claims, and did all that lay in their Power to bring their Designs about. The *Western Churches*, as nearest *Rome*, easily came in to them. Almost All, except the Churches of *Gaul* and *Milan*, conform'd at length to the *Roman Ritual*. But *Britain*, being still as it were out of the World, had, since the Embassy of *Lucius* to *Pope Eleutherius*, held very little Communication with the Bishops of *Rome*. The *Britons* consider'd them only as Bishops of a particular *Diocese*, or at most but as *Patriarchs*, on whom the *British Church* had not the least Dependence. So far were they from owning the Authority of the *Pope*, that they did not so much as know, he pretended to have any over them. But *Austin*, out of the Abundance of his Zeal for the *See of Rome*, took upon him to bring them to acknowledge the *Pope* as *Head* of the Church in general. It is a difficult Matter to know how far *Austin's* Designs reach'd, since it does not appear, he had any *Instructions* from *Gregory I.* who aspir'd not to that exorbitant Power, attributed afterwards to his Successors. It must however be own'd, that *Gregory* laid claim to a Superiority over the *British Churches*, since in his Letter to *Austin*, he put the whole Island entirely under the Jurisdiction of the new Archbishop. Indeed it is not to be suppos'd *Austin* wou'd have so much insisted upon that Point, had he not been sure of being supported in it. But be this as it will, he left no Stone unturn'd to come at his Ends.

The best Way, as he thought, of proceeding in this Affair, was to get the *British Bishops* to meet him in a *Synod*, in order to debate upon what he had to propose to them. This They having agreed to, he omitted nothing that might win them over to do as he desir'd. But neither Promises nor Threats cou'd prevail with the *British Prelates*, to admit of the least Change in their antient Customs.

*Bede* tells us, that *Austin*, finding no good was to

602.  
Usher de  
Prim.

*Bede*, l. 2.  
be c. 2.

Rog. de  
Hov.

be done by Arguments, caus'd a *Saxon* blind Man to be brought into the Assembly, and when the *Britons* had tried in vain to cure him, he restor'd him to his sight by his Prayers. But whether the Miracle might not admit of some Dispute, because the blind Man was a *Saxon*, or whether *Bede*, who liv'd not till long after, might be wrong inform'd, the *Britons* stood out against this Evidence. All *Austin* cou'd obtain, was, that they wou'd meet again and determine the Matter in a more numerous *Synod* \*. At this second Council were present seven *British* Bishops, accompanied with *Dinoth* Abbot of *Bangor*, who brought several of his Monks along with him. Before they came to the *Synod*, they advis'd with a *Hermite* of great Repute among them, how they shou'd manage in this Affair. The good old Man told them, that he saw no Reason they had to admit of any Alterations in their *Divine Service* upon the bare Request of a Man to them entirely unknown: but however, as the Essence of Religion consisted in Union and Charity, it wou'd not be amiss to comply in some Measure with *Austin*, provided he was a *Holy Man* and one sent from God. They desir'd to be inform'd, how they shou'd know whether he was such a Person or not. He replied, they wou'd know it by his *Humility*, the most undoubted Mark of a true Christian: and they wou'd see whether he was endued with this Virtue, by his respectful rising up to salute them at their Coming into the *Council-Room*; for if he paid them not that Civility, it was a sure Token of his Pride. Pursuant to this Advice, they took care to come last upon the Place. And upon *Austin's* not stirring from his Seat to salute them, they conceiv'd an invincible Prejudice against him. Thus for a default in Point of Civility, his whole Scheme that had cost him so much Pains and Trouble, fell to the Ground.

*Dinoth's*  
*Speech to*  
*Austin.*

As *Austin* in the *Synod* was mightily pressing the *Britons* to submit to the Authority of the Pope, *Dinoth*, Abbot of *Bangor*, made him this Answer: " You propose

\* This Synod was held at *Augustin's Ae* or *Oak*, on the Frontiers of the *West-Saxons*, very likely in *Worcestershire*. *Bede*, l. 2. c. 2.



“ pose to us Obedience to the Church of *Rome*; are you  
 “ ignorant that we already owe a Deference to the Church  
 “ of God, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to all Christians,  
 “ of Love and Charity, which obliges us to endeavour  
 “ by all possible Means to assist and do them all the Good  
 “ we can? Other Obedience than This to him you call  
 “ *Pope*, we know not of, and This we are always ready to  
 “ pay. But for a *Superior*, what need have we to go  
 “ so far as *Rome*, when we are govern’d, under God, by  
 “ the Bishop of *Caerleon*, who hath Authority to take  
 “ Care of our Churches and *Spiritual* Affairs? It is said, *Bede, l. 2.*

*Austin* despairing to overcome their Obstinacy, after a long  
 Dispute, cried out, full of Indignation, *Since you refuse*  
*Peace from your Brethren, you shall have War from your*  
*Enemies; and since you will not join with us in preaching the*  
*Word of eternal Life to your Neighbours, you shall receive*  
*Death at their Hands.* Hence it appears, that *Austin* had  
 not only press’d the *Britons* to a Conformity with the  
 Church of *Rome*, and Obedience to the *Papal* Power, but  
 also had reproach’d them for their Negligence and want  
 of Zeal, in not promoting the Conversion of the *Saxons*.  
 Perhaps he design’d to intimate to them, that the Con-  
 version of All *England* stuck only at the Union he pro-  
 pos’d to them. However this be, these Words of *Austin*  
 were look’d upon as a Prediction of the terrible *Massacre*  
 of the Monks of *Bangor*, mention’d in the History of  
*Northumberland*. I leave the Reader to judge whether  
 the non-compliance of the Abbot of *Bangor* to *Austin’s*  
 Proposals, was a Crime of such a nature as to deserve so se-  
 vere a Punishment.

*Austin* not having the Success he expected in this Affair,  
 contain’d himself within the true Bounds of his Mission,  
 and caus’d the Gospel to be preach’d to the *East-Saxons* by  
*Mellitus*, one of the *Missionaries* sent him by the Pope,  
 of whom I shall speak more fully, when I come to the  
 Conversion of that Nation.

These in short, are the Transactions of *Austin*, com-  
 monly call’d the *Apostle of the English*, during the eight  
 Years he liv’d in *England*. He came here in 597, and  
 died

died in 605, according to the generally-receiv'd opinion. Some affirm he died sooner, and others, tho' without grounds, bring his death down to 613. He was buried at *Canterbury* near the *Cathedral*, which was not then finish'd, with this Inscription on his Tomb :

Bede, l. 2. c. 3. *Here lies Augustin, the first Archbishop of Dorobern, who having been sent hither by Gregory, Pontif of Rome, and supported by the Cooperation of God, with Miracles, converted King Ethelbert and his Nation to the Faith; and having accomplish'd the Days of his Ministry, departed this Life the 7th of the Calends of June, in the Reign of the said King.*

*Austin* was succeeded by *Laurentius*, who was as sollicitous to reduce the *Britons* to the Obedience of the Pope, and a Conformity to the *Roman Church* in the celebration of *Easter*. He wrote very pressing Letters to them, wherein he upbraided them for their obstinacy, bitterly complaining, that a *Scotch Bishop*, *Dagham* by name, passing thro' *Canterbury*, had refus'd to eat with him, on account of their Difference in Opinion upon that Score. But his Letters prov'd of no Effect.

609. *Gregory I.* pretended not to a Jurisdiction over the *British Churches*, as *Universal Bishop*; a Title he was so far from assuming, that he declaim'd against it with great Dislike. However, in all appearance, he believ'd, he might as *Patriarch* of the *West*, claim the obedience of the *British*, as well as *English Bishops*, to his spiritual Jurisdiction. But *Boniface IV.* who not long after *Gregory I.* was promoted to the *See of Rome*, being supported by the Emperor *Phocas*, took upon him the Title of *Universal Bishop*. This was a fresh Motive for the *Missionaries* in *England* to renew their Endeavours to bring the *Britons* to own his Authority: but all wou'd not do. And therefore *Mellitus* was sent to *Rome* for *Instructions* from the Pope upon this Head. But the Death of *Ethelbert* \*, which happen'd in the *Interim*, made them lay aside all Thoughts of this Matter, and re-

\* *Thoyras* places *Ethelbert's* Death several Years sooner here than he did before in the *History* of *Kent*.

duced the Christians to a deplorable Condition. *Ebald* the Son and Successor of *Ethelbert*, being turn'd Pagan again, the *Missionaries* lost that powerful Protection they had till then enjoy'd. To compleat their Misfortunes; *Sebert* King of *Essex*, who had been converted by *Mellitus*, dying alio a little after, his three Sons who jointly succeeded him, apostatis'd from Christianity, and forbad *Mellitus*, who was come back from *Rome*, to remain in their Dominions. He fled to *Laurentius* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as did also *Justus* Bishop of *Rochester*, the Inhabitants of that Place having in all appearance abandon'd the Faith. These three Prelates, having consulted together, resolv'd upon going into *France*, and leaving the Renegado *Saxons* to themselves. This makes it appear, either that the People of *Kent* and *Essex* went all back to *Paganism*, or that there were not so many Converts as *Gregory* was made to believe. *Mellitus* and *Justus* went off, as had been resolv'd upon; but *Laurence* staid behind, tho' with a Design to follow them in a short time. When he was ready to depart, it is affirm'd, that lying one Night in his Church, *St. Peter* appear'd to him, and scourg'd him severely, as a Punishment for offering to abandon his *Mission*. The day after he went to *Ebald*, and having shewn him the Marks of the Scourge, he converted him, and perswaded him to disengage himself from his unlawful Marriage, he having taken his Father's Widow to Wife. So far is certain, *Ebald* was converted: All Historians are unanimous in That: but I can't warrant the Truth of *St. Peter's* Apparition. *Ebald* being thus return'd to the Faith, recall'd *Justus* and *Mellitus*, and restor'd them to their respective Dioces of *Rochester* and *London*. But the *East-Saxons* at *London* refusing to readmit *Mellitus*, he return'd to *Kent*, where he soon after succeeded *Laurentius* in the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. He is said by his Prayers to have put a stop to a great Fire, that in all probability wou'd have reduc'd the City to Ashes, and to have wrought several other Miracles.

*Mellitus* was succeeded by *Justus* Bishop of *Rochester*, to whom the Pope sent the *Pall*. After him came *Honorius*,

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whose

610.

Bede.  
l. 2. c. 6.Bede, l. 2.  
c. 17.  
619.

624.



Sax. Chr. whose Successor was *Deusdedit*. After the Death of the last, there was a *Vacancy* for 4 Years. *Egbert* and *Oswi*, Kings of *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, having held a Conference together about the Affairs of the Church, resolv'd to send *Wighard* a *Kentish* Priest to be consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at *Rome*. *Wighard* dying there, *Vitalian* the Pope cast his Eyes upon *Adrian* and *Andrew*, two Monks, who both excus'd themselves upon the Score of the Archbishoprick's being too great a Burden for them. *Theodorus* a *Greek* Monk, a Native of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, to whom it was also offer'd, not having the same Scruples, was consecrated at *Rome*, and departed for *England*. The Pope order'd *Adrian* to go with him, lest *Thodorus* being a *Greek*, might introduce Customs in *Britain* contrary to those of the Church of *Rome*. As this Prelate was the most famous that in those early Times possess'd the *See* of *Canterbury*, it will not be amiss to take a nearer view of him.

668.

Bede, l. 4.  
c. 1.

*Theodorus* was a Prelate of distinguish'd Worth, as well for his Learning, as the Greatness of his Mind, and Soundness of his Judgment. But he was of a warm and impatient Temper, a Lover of Power, and cou'd ill brook any Opposition to his Will. Whilst he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he had frequently an opportunity of extending his Jurisdiction over all *England*, which he never fail'd to lay hold on, as we shall see hereafter in the Account of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the other Kingdoms, particularly of *Northumberland*. I shall only observe here, that, during his Life, he alone exercis'd the *Archiepiscopal* Functions, which gave him an opportunity of incroaching upon the Rights of the *See* of *York*; tho' *Gregory I.* had order'd that after the Death of *Austin*, the two Archbishopricks shou'd be independent of one another. As soon as he came into *England*, he made a *Visitation* of all the Churches in his Jurisdiction, and brought the People to a thorough Conformity to the Usages of the Church of *Rome*.

669.

As the *English* were still very ignorant, *Theodore* endeavour'd to the utmost of his Power to instruct them, by erecting

erecting a *School* or *Seminary* at *Crecklade* \*, where he and *Adrian* besides *Divinity*, taught *Arithmetick*, *Musick*, *Astronomy*, *Greek* and *Latin*. *Bede* assures us he knew several of their Disciples that cou'd express themselves as readily in *Greek* and *Latin* as in their own Language. *Theodore* did not content himself with stirring up in the *English* the Love of *Learning*, by Exhortations and Instructions only, but also by the Books he brought, and sent for over into *England*; Some of which are still extant in *Manuscript*, as *David's Psalms*, *St. Chrysostom's Homilies*, and *Homer*, all written in a beautiful Hand. He compos'd a large Work himself call'd *Pœnitentiale*, which remain'd not long ago entire at *Cambridge* \*, but is not to be found there now. In 1677, Extracts of it, with some other of his Treatises, were publish'd at *Paris*, with Notes by *Jacobus Petitus*. Bede, l. 4.  
c. 2.  
Journ. des  
Seav.  
1678.

*Theodore* died in 690: but the *See* was not fill'd till two Years after, by *Berthwald* Abbot of *Reculver*, who, having been Archbishop 38 Years, gave place by his Death to *Tatwine* a Person of great *Learning* and Probity. He exercis'd his *Archiepiscopal* Functions near two Years before he receiv'd the *Pall*: which is a clear Evidence he did not think it absolutely necessary to qualify him to act as Archbishop. *Tatwine* dying in 735, *Nothelm*, a Priest of the *Diocese* of *London*, succeeded him, who went and receiv'd the *Pall* at *Rome*, where he was consecrated by *Gregory III.* He died in 741, and the Year following, *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Hereford* was chosen in his Room. To him succeeded *Bregwin* of a noble Family in *Germany*. This Prelate was exemplary for his Religious and Holy Life, during the two Years he held the *See*. *Jambert* [or *Lambert*] Abbot of *St. Austin's*, was his Successor. He had the Mortification to see the Churches of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* wrested from his Jurisdiction, by the erecting *Lichfield* into an Archbishop's *See*, in the Reign of *Offa*. Notwithstanding he us'd all his Endeavours, he cou'd

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neither

\* About 20 Miles from *Oxford*, in *Wiltshire*, from whence that University might be afterwards supplied.

\* In *Bennet-College-Library*, in Sir *Henry Spelman's* Time.

neither prevent it, nor recover his Rights. *Athelard* his Successor was more fortunate, for he obtain'd what his Predecessor had su'd for in vain. So that the Churches of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*, were again subject to the Jurisdiction of the *See of Canterbury*. *Wulfrid*, who succeeded him in 804, was living at the time the *Heptarchy* was reduc'd to a Monarchy.

Before we leave the Church of *Kent*, it will be proper to observe, that *Gregory's* Scheme, who had order'd that *Canterbury* and *York* shou'd be both Archbishop's *Sees*, and independent of one another, remain'd unexecuted, upon several Accounts. In the first Place, the *Northumbrians* did not receive the Gospel so soon as that *Pope* expected. Again, They all deserted the *Faith*, after the Retreat of *Paulinus*, who had receiv'd the *Pall*. Lastly, the continual Troubles *Northumberland* was in, prevented the first Bishops of *York* from taking the Advantage of the *Pope's Regulation*, which they did not much regard. This was the Reason *Theodore* became possessed of all the Authority, as well over the *Northern*, as *Southern* Churches, and that his Successors making him their Precedent, laid Claim to the *Primacy* of all *England*, exclusive of the Archbishops of *York*. This prov'd in process of Time, the Ground of great Disputes between the two Archbishops.

### The Church of NORTHUMBERLAND.

Having already given an Account of *Edwin's* Marriage with *Ethelburga* of *Kent*, I shall only add that *Paulinus*, who accompanied her into *Northumberland*, in quality of Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, spent a whole Year at *Edwin's* Court, without making any great Progress among them. But at length several Accidents concurred towards the bringing about his Designs, of which I shall give a particular Relation.

*Quicelm*, one of the Kings of *Wessex*, bore the Yoke of *Edwin* with that Impatience, that he resolv'd to get rid of it, by the means of an Assassin, whom he sent to him on some Pretence or other, privately arm'd with a poison'd

Bede, l. 2.  
c. 9.

Dagger.



Dagger. The Ruffian being introduc'd into *the Presence*, took his Opportunity, and made so furious a *Pass* at the King, that he was wounded thro' the Body of *Lilla* his Favourite, who had interpos'd himself and receiv'd the Blow. *Paulinus* being inform'd of this Accident, hastily ran into the Room, and finding the King in a great Rage against the King of *Wesssex*, told him, God, to whom such Wretches were an Abomination, wou'd not fail to punish so horrid a Villany. It is said that *Edwin*, whom the Queen had hitherto solicited in vain, promis'd at the same time to renounce Idolatry, if the God of the Christians wou'd revenge him of his Enemy. At the same Instant, News was brought him, that the Queen after a hard Labour was brought to Bed of a Princess, for which he return'd Thanks to his Gods. *Paulinus* for his Part, having been in great Fears about the Queen, fell upon his Knees, and thank'd God for her Deliverance. The Prelate's Zeal was so well pleasing to the King, that it immediately begat in him so favourable an Opinion of the Christian Religion, that he consented *Paulinus* shou'd baptize the newborn Infant. The young Princess, who was nam'd *Ansfleda*, was the first that was baptiz'd in *Northumberland*.

*Edwin* in the mean while, not forgetting the Perfidiousness of the King of *Wesssex*, march'd with an Army into his Dominions, and after defeating him several Times, compell'd him humbly to sue for Peace, and make him ample Satisfaction. But tho' he return'd home with Victory according to his Desire, he deferr'd the performance of his Promise. When the Queen and *Paulinus* press'd him upon that Head, he told them, that the quitting his Religion seem'd to him to be a thing of so great Importance, that he cou'd not resolve upon it without a thorough examination of Matters. And indeed he heartily set about it, and frequently conferr'd with *Coifi* the Pagan High-Priest, upon the Reasons alledg'd by *Paulinus* in favour of Christianity. *Coifi*, perceiving the King was very near turning Christian, resolv'd with himself to make his court to him betimes, by conforming to his Will. It wou'd

not

not perhaps be impossible in the like Case, to find some of this Stamp among the Christian Clergy.

In the mean time, the Queen and *Paulinus* continued to sollicite the King to be as good as his Word; and to give the greater Weight to what they said to him, they got the  
 626. *Pope* to write him a Letter. But all wou'd not do, *Edwin* still demurr'd upon the Matter. At last, the Circumstances of the *Vision* he had formerly seen in the Garden of *Redowald*, being, as is affirm'd, reveal'd to *Paulinus*, the  
 l. 2. c. 12. Business was accomplish'd in an extraordinary Way. *Bede* relates, how that one day as the King was surrounded with a Crowd of Courtiers, \* *Paulinus* came in abruptly, and laying his Hand on his Head, ask'd him whether he understood the meaning of that *Token*? At these Words, *Edwin* recollecting what had pass'd between him and the *Stranger* in *Redowald's* Garden, threw himself at *Paulinus's* Feet, who, with an Air of Authority, said to him thus: *My Lord, you have escap'd the Hands of your Enemies, and are become a great King. All that was foretold you, is come to pass; it is your Duty now to make good your Promise.* Upon hearing this *Edwin*, as is affirm'd, told *Paulinus*, he was fully satisfied, and ready to receive the *Christian Faith*. From that Moment he not only endeavour'd at a more perfect Knowledge of the Gospel himself, but consider'd also how he might bring over his Subjects to the Profession of it. To this End he thought the best way would be, before he declar'd himself, to gain over some of his principal Courtiers, whose Examples he did not doubt, wou'd have a great Influence on the People.

He was most likely to meet with the greatest Opposition from *Coifi*, whose Interest it was, the People shou'd adhere to their Idol-Worship. But he was agreeably surpris'd to find, that instead of opposing, he was ready to comply with his Desire. One day as the King was discoursing with him upon this Subject, the High-Priest, like a good Courtier, said to him: " I have for a good while,  
 " been

\* *Bede says, he was sitting alone seriously pondering with himself.*

“ been seriously reflecting on our Religion, and on the  
 “ nature of our Gods, and must own I am not at all sa-  
 “ tisfied in these Points, neither can I forbear calling in  
 “ question their Goodness, Justice, or Power. Never  
 “ perhaps did any Person serve them with greater Zeal,  
 “ Respect, and Assiduity than my self. You, Sir, are  
 “ a Witness with what Devotion and Care I have all along  
 “ perform’d the Functions of my Office; and yet I never  
 “ got any thing by it: Neither is there a Man in your  
 “ Court but what is better prefer’d than I am. Now,  
 “ can I help concluding, that since our Gods take so  
 “ little Care of their most sincere Worshipers, they  
 “ must be either unjust, or weak, or rather no Gods  
 “ at all.

*Edwin*, pleas’d with this Answer of the High-Priest,  
 had a mind to know the Sentiments of another Priest that  
 was next in Dignity to *Coisi*; who, encourag’d by the  
 example of his *Superior*, told the King: “ Sir, the more  
 “ we reflect on the nature of our Soul, the less we know  
 “ of it; it is with our Soul, as with the little Bird that  
 “ came in the other Day at one of the Windows of the  
 “ Room where you sat at Dinner, and flew out imme-  
 “ diately at the other. Whilst it was in the Room, we  
 “ knew something about it; but as soon as it was gone,  
 “ we cou’d not say whence it came, or whither it was  
 “ flown. Thus our Soul whilst it animates our Body,  
 “ we may know some of its Properties, but when once  
 “ separated, we know not whither it goes, nor from  
 “ whence it came. Since then *Paulinus* pretends to give  
 “ us clearer Notions in these Matters, it is my Opinion,  
 “ that we give him the hearing, and laying aside all Pas-  
 “ sion and Prejudice, follow that which shall appear most  
 “ conformable to right Reason.

Bede, l. 2.  
 c. 13.

The King approving of this Advice, ’twas resolv’d  
*Paulinus* shou’d explain himself upon the Subject of *Reli-*  
*gion* in the Presence of the *Pontif* and other Priests,  
 which was accordingly done. As soon as *Coisi* had heard  
 the Bishop out, he declar’d aloud, He cou’d see no  
 manner of Reason to doubt of the Truth of the Christian  
 Religion.



627. Religion. *Edwin* having thus made sure of the High-Priest and some of his principal Courtiers, conven'd a *Wittena-gemot* or Parliament, to debate, whether the Christian Religion shou'd be receiv'd or not. But the Majority being determin'd beforehand for the *Affirmative*, it pass'd without any Opposition. *Coifi* was one of the forwardest to attack the *Pagan*-worship. And being desirous to show some marks of the sincerity of his Conversion, he put himself at the head of the other Priests, and marching towards the Heathen Temple, darted his Javelin against the *Idol*. After which it was broke in pieces by the King's Order, and the Temple burnt to the Ground \*. The same Day *Edwin* was baptized, with his Niece *Hilda* \*, afterwards Abbess of *Whirby*.

628. The *Northumbrians* following the Example of their King, *Paulinus*, who till then had lain idle, on a sudden found his Hands full of Work, by the prodigious Crowds that daily came to be taught and baptiz'd. But if it be true, as some affirm, that he baptiz'd in one day 10000, it is to be presum'd he cou'd not be very particular in his Instructions (a). A Church of Wood was hastily run up at *York*, on purpose for the new Converts, who were very numerous. Shortly after, *Edwin* laid the Foundations of a Church of Free-Stone, round the former, which stood till the other of Stone was built. He had not the Satisfaction to finish it, which was done by *Oswald* his Successor. *Paulinus* is said to have preach'd also at *Lincoln*, where he converted *Blecca* the *Saxon* Governor.

633. Thus was *Northumberland* converted to the Faith of Christ. But some time after, *Edwin* being slain in Battle, such Desolation ensu'd in *Northumberland*, that *Paulinus* being compell'd to leave the Kingdom, the *Northumbrians* fell back again to Idolatry. *Anfrid* and *Osrick*, Kings of *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, follow'd the Example of their

\* The Temple was a very famous one, it stood at Godmanham (i. e.) a Receptacle for Gods, in Yorkshire: Near it is Wighton (i. e.) a Place of Idols.

\* She was Daughter to Hereric, Edwin's Nephew. Bede.

(a). The same is said of Austin: and both the Rivers are called Swale.

their Subjects, tho' they had been instructed in the Christian Religion in *Scotland*, where they had liv'd in Exile. The apostatizing of these two Princes, and the Barbarity of *Cadwallo* after their Death, almost quite rooted out Christianity in *Northumberland*. During these Calamities, neither Priest nor Monk had the Courage to endeavour the Restoring the *Northumbrians* to the Faith. *James* the Deacon, whom *Paulinus* left at *York*, was not able alone to put a stop to the general Revolt. Things remain'd in this Condition, till *Oswald* ascended the Throne, who, as soon as he had restor'd Peace and Tranquillity, labour'd with all his Power to make Religion flourish again. With this View, he desir'd the King of *Scotland* to send some Persons of Learning to instruct his Subjects. Accordingly *Corman*, a Monk of *Jona* was dispatch'd away; but he being a Man of a rugged Temper, and dislik'd by the *English*, return'd to his Monastery, and making his Report of his Mission in a full Chapter, *Aidan*, one of the Brotherhood, found by what he said, that he had not us'd that Condescension to the *English* their Circumstances required, and therefore told him, " It is my Opinion, Brother, that you have dealt a little too roughly with those you design'd to convert; not remembring that the Christian Religion ought to be infus'd into the Mind, not by violent, but mild and gentle Methods. " Upon these Words, the Monks unanimously declar'd, *Aidan* was the fittest Person to be sent to *Northumberland*. He undertook the Affair, and after he was consecrated Bishop, began his Journey. *Bede* gives *Aidan* the Character of a pious and religious Person, but adds, his Zeal was without Knowledge, because he kept *Easter* after the manner of the *Eastern* Christians, and not as the Church of *Rome* did. However, as much a *Schismatick* as he was, nothing can be added to *Bede's* Commendation of him for Holiness of Life. He not only, says he, instructed Christians in their Duty, but also gave them an Example of a good Life, and fervent Charity, which charm'd the very *Heathens*, and brought them over to the Faith. His Success was so great among the *North-*  
I r
umbrians,

634.

Bede.  
l. 3. c. 5.

635.

652.

\* Or Holy  
Island on  
the Coast of  
Northum-  
berland.

*umbrians*, that they return'd in Crowds to the Profession of Christ. *Oswald*, who was extremely desirous of the conversion of his Subjects, did all that lay in his Power to help forward the Work, even to the becoming *Aidan's* Interpreter, by explaining his Discourses to the People. It may perhaps seem strange, why *Oswald* did not recall *Paulinus*, who was then Bishop of *Rochester*, or else make Use of the Ministry of *James*, who was left behind in *Northumberland*. But it must be remembred, that *Oswald*, having been instructed in the Christian Religion in *Scotland*, had an Aversion for the *Roman Missionaries*, on account of the Difference between the *Romanists* and *Scots* about *Easter*, and the *Ecclesiastical Tonsure*. *Aidan* dying after he had govern'd the Church of *Northumberland* 17 Years; *Finan*, another Monk of *Fona* was sent to supply his Place. He fixt the *Episcopal See* in the little Island of *Lindisfarn*\*, contrary to *Gregory's* Regulation, who order'd that the principal *See* for the northern Parts shou'd be settled at *York*.

This was not the only thing wherein *Finan* and the other *Scotch* Ecclesiasticks show'd their Independance on the Church of *Rome*. Their obstinate Refusal to conform to the *Roman* Custom of keeping *Easter*, was an Article of much more Importance, at least it was so thought by the *Italian* Priests. *England* was then divided into two Parties or *Sects*, who firmly adher'd to their respective Opinions. All the *Scotch* Priests and Monks, who were very numerous in *Northumberland*, and all their Converts, follow'd the *Eastern* Churches; but the *French* and *Italian* Ecclesiasticks, in that and all other Points, stuck to the Church of *Rome*, and treated as *Schismatics* those who did not do the like. And therefore they us'd their utmost Endeavours to bring the *English* Churches to a Conformity with them, which they thought might be easily brought about, cou'd they but once gain over *Finan* to their Side. To this End they sent to him a *Scotch* Priest, that had been educated in *France*, to lay before him the Reasons alledg'd by the Church of *Rome* upon that Head. But so far was he from prevail-

ing



ing with him, that *Finan* became a more profess'd and open Opposer of the *Roman* Customs.

This Dispute was carried on with great Vehemence, not only among the *Clergy*, but among the most ignorant of the *Laity*, as it usually happens in *Religious Differences*. As long as *Aidan* and *Finan* liv'd, the *Romanists*, out of a regard for those two Holy Bishops, bore pretty patiently this diversity of Opinions. But when *Colman*, another *Scotch* Monk, succeeded *Finan*, in the Reign of *Oswi*, the Dispute was renew'd with greater Heat than ever. The *Romanists*, desirous of bringing over their Adversaries to their Opinion at any Rate, never left till they had got *Oswi* to call a *Synod* [in the Nunnery of *Hilda*] at *Streanes-halh* or *Whitby*, in order to decide this Affair. The *Synod* being met, each Party endeavour'd to procure as many Votes as they cou'd; but as it appears from the Accounts of Historians, the *Romanists* were much more active and zealous than the others. At the Head of the *Scotch* Party were King *Oswy*, *Colman* Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, and the rest of the *Scotch* Priests and Monks, with all that had receiv'd their Ordination from them. On the other side appear'd *Ansfleda* *Oswin's* Queen, *Alfred* King of *Deira* *Oswin's* natural Son, *Wilfrid* a Priest his Preceptor, who had studied at *Rome*, *Agilbert* Bishop of *Paris*, who had formerly been Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, and *Agathon* a Priest of the same Church, *Ronan* a *Scotch* Priest, *James* the Deacon, and all who had been Disciples of the *Italian* Priests and Monks.

To see with what Earnestness this Dispute was manag'd, one wou'd have thought the very Essence of Religion had been at Stake: And indeed the *Romanists* were of that Opinion, as appears from the Words of *Bede*; *It was not without Reason*, says he, *that this Question disturbed the Minds of a great number of Christians, who were apprehensive, lest after they had begun the Race of Salvation, they shou'd be found to have run in vain.* However this Historian, tho' he thought all did run in vain, who conform'd not to the Church of *Rome*, gave *Aidan* and *Finan* who were of that Number, the highest Praises for the holiness of their

*Bede, l. 3.*
*c. 25.*

661.

664.

*Bede, l.*
*l. 3. c. 25.*

Lives. He attributes to them the Gift of Miracles, which leaves no room to doubt, but that he look'd upon them as *Saints*, notwithstanding they were, according to his Notion, actually involv'd in *Schism*. *Baronius* treads in the steps of *Bede*. When he mentions the *Scots* and *Britons* of those Days, he treats them as *Schismaticks* for refusing to obey the *Pope*: But when he speaks of *Aidan* and *Finan*, he makes no scruple of *Sainting* them, tho' they strenuously asserted the Independency of their Churches. Hence it follows, either these two Bishops were not really *Schismaticks*, or if they were so, their *Schism* hinder'd them not from being great *Saints*, from being assisted by God in working Miracles, and converting Nations. But to return to the *Synod* at *Whitby*; since the Dispute about *Easter* was the Occasion of their Meeting, and the Cause of great Commotions in *England*, it will not be amiss briefly to relate the first Rise of it.

Towards the End of the second *Century*, a Controversy arose in the *Church*, concerning the Day on which the *Easter-Festival* was to be celebrated. The Churches of *Asia* were of Opinion it was to be kept on the fourteenth Day of the *Moon*, according to the Custom of the *Jews*, on what day of the Week soever it shou'd chance to fall. The *Western* Churches on the contrary, put it off till the *Sunday* after the fourteenth Day, because our Saviour's Resurrection was on that Day. Several *Councils* were held about this Matter, as well in the *East*, as in the *West*; but neither Party wou'd recede from their Opinion, each pleading *apostolical* Tradition in their behalf, the *Eastern* Bishops from St. *John*, and the *Western* from St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*. Supposing the Truth of both these *Traditions*, the Inference is plain, that either of them may indifferently be follow'd, and that it is no *material* Point, since the Apostles had not settled it among themselves. And in Fact, this diversity of Custom, prevented not the two Parties from holding Communion with one another, till *Victor* I. Bishop of *Rome* made a Rupture, by excommunicating the *Quartodecimans*, or those that kept *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the *Moon*. This Proceeding of *Victor* gave



so great offence, that *Irenaus*, Bishop of *Lyons*, tho' of the same opinion with *Victor*, severely reprimanded him for a Breach of Charity on the account of a Thing of so little Moment. He alledg'd the Examples of *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Telesphorus*, *Xistus* the Predecessors of *Victor*, who notwithstanding this Difference, broke not Communion with the Churches of *Asia*. He added moreover, that he wou'd have acted much better in imitating *Anicetus*, who gave the *Eucharist* with his own hand to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, tho' of a different opinion from him in this very Matter.

*Victor's* haughty Treatment of the Churches of *Asia* served only to make them stick the faster to their Opinion. They believ'd they were so much the less oblig'd to conform to the Practice of *Rome*, as the *Pope*, in the main, cou'd bring no authentick Proof of their Tradition from *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as the *Asiatics*, on their Part, wou'd have been as hard put to it to make out *Theirs* from *St. John*. What *Socrates* the Historian says upon this Subject is very remarkable: *Neither Christ nor his Apostles have order'd any Thing concerning the Paschal Feast, as Moses did to the Jews, their Design being not to determine Circumstances about Holy-days, but to instruct Christians in the Precepts of Piety and a good Life. It is my opinion therefore, that as certain Customs have been introduc'd in each Country, This of the Paschal Solemnity was one of them, and not built upon the Authority of the Apostles. The Quartodecimans tell us, the keeping the fourteenth day was instituted by St. John. The Romanists maintain, they had their Practice from St. Peter and St. Paul. But Neither of them has prov'd by any authentick Record their Assertion; whence it is clear, the Easter Festival may be kept in every Place, according to the Custom first introduc'd there.*

From this Passage it is evident, that They who were no Lovers of Wrangling, look'd upon this Controversy as of little Importance to Religion. However, to avoid a Diversity even in the smallest Matters, the Council of *Arles* in 314, order'd that *Easter* shou'd every where be kept on the Sunday after the 14th day of the Moon which



which happen'd next after the *Vernal Equinox* or 21st of *March*. This *Canon* was confirm'd by the Council of *Nice* in 325, and the Emperor sent Orders throughout all the *Roman* Empire to have it put in Practice. His Letter upon this occasion to the Governors and other Magistrates, shou'd that the Reasons the Council went upon were, that the *Quartodecimans* were fewest in Number, and stood too near the *Jewish* Observation. Upon the same Account it was that the Council order'd that *Easter* shou'd be the *Sunday* after the full Moon in *March*. But it is uncertain whether it was meant People shou'd reckon from the Beginning of the 14th of the Moon, or from the Evening and Beginning of the 15th \*. Pursuant to this Determination All the Churches kept *Easter-day* on a *Sunday*. One Thing however, namely, what was to be done when the Full-Moon fell out on a *Sunday*, not being well settled, caus'd some Diversity. In this Case, some Churches, among whom was that of the *Scotch*, began their *Easter* that very day, and consequently at the same time with the *Jews*. But the Church of *Rome* deferr'd it till the *Sunday* following. Since that Time, there have been some Alterations made which produc'd different Customs in the Churches. Whereas for a long while a Cycle of 84 Years was every where made use of to find the precise Time of *Easter*, the Church of *Rome* invented a Cycle of 19 Years, much more proper for that Purpose, and oblig'd all the Churches under her Jurisdiction to conform to it. Altho' there is no doubt but this was the best Method, and calculated nearest the Truth; yet as it was unknown to the *Britons* and *Scots*, who had held but little Correspondence with *Rome*, they stuck to their old Way.

Bede.

By the Keeping *Easter* thus at different Times, it sometimes happen'd in *Oswi's* Court, that whilst the King was celebrating the *Paschal Feast*, the Queen, who follow'd the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, was still keeping *Lent*, and was got no farther forward than *Palm-Sunday*. This confusion made *Oswi* desirous of fixing *Easter-day* so, as

All

\* An Ecclesiastical Day begins at Six a-clock the Evening before,

All shou'd keep it at the same Time. At the opening of the Council, after he had made a short Speech upon that Head, he order'd *Colman* to alledge what he had to say in defence of the Custom of the *Scotch Church*. *Colman* asserted, that it had all along been the Practice of his Predecessors, and of Those that had consecrated him in *Scotland*: That *Columba*, *Aidan*, and *Finan* had always kept to the old Way: but if their Authority was not sufficient, he cou'd alledge *That* of *St. John* the beloved Apostle. After he had dilated upon this Argument, *Agilbert*, Bishop of *Paris*, was desir'd to set forth what was to be said against *Colman's* Assertion. But he having excus'd himself upon the account of his unskilfulness in the *English* Tongue, requested that *Wilfrid* might be allow'd to speak the Sense of the *Church of Rome*. *Wilfrid*, having the King's Permission, answer'd *Colman* with great Warmth. He explain'd the Manner of fixing *Easter* practis'd by the *Church of Rome*, and affirm'd that all the Churches in the World conform'd to it, except only the *Scots*, *Picts* and *Britons*, who still persisted in their foolish obstinacy. *Colman* replied, Talking in that Manner very much reflected on the Memory of *St. John*, who wou'd never have establish'd a Custom that was chargeable with Folly. *Wilfrid*, being sensible he had spoke a little too freely, endeavour'd to justify *St. John*, by saying he was oblig'd not to throw off all the *Jewish* Ceremonies at once, for fear of giving offence to the *Asiatick Jews*, just as *St. Paul* upon the like account had circumcis'd *Timothy*. He concluded with asserting that the *Church of Rome* exactly follow'd what was prescrib'd by *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* in this Matter.

It appears from the fore-cited Passage of *Socrates*, that it was as difficult for *Wilfrid* to prove that the Custom of the *Church of Rome* had its Rise from *St. Peter*, as for *Colman* to make out, that the Practice of the *Church of Scotland* came from *St. John*. Besides, the Cycle of 19 Years then made use of by the *Romanists*, was most assuredly invented after the time of *St. Peter*. But as *Colman* and the rest of the *Scotch* Party knew little of what

pass'd

pass'd *Abroad*, and as their Aim was not so much to bring over the *Romanists* to their Customs, as to perswade them to let them alone in their own Way, they persisted in appealing to the Authority of St. *John* and *Columba*. But *Wilfrid*, after justifying St. *John* in the manner above mention'd, demanded of *Colman*, with an Air of Triumph, whether he pretended to put *Columba* in the Balance against St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, to whom our Saviour said, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church?* History informs us not what Answer *Colman* made; for it must be noted, we know nothing of this Council, but what we have from the Partisans of *Rome*. However this be, it appears *Oswi* was convinc'd St. *Peter* had some Prerogative above the other Apostles, since he declar'd at last for the Custom, St. *Peter* had establish'd at *Rome*, before *That* of St. *John*. *Bede* says, he was brought to it by being told, that as St. *Peter* had the Keys of Heaven, he wou'd refuse him Entrance, if he obstinately held out against the Apostle's own Institution. *Oswi's* Declaration immediately drew over a Majority of *Voices* for the *Romanists*. Thus *Colman* and his Party lost their Cause in this Point.

In this *Synod* was debated also the Controversy about the Ecclesiastical Tonsure. The *Romanists* maintain'd that the Head ought to be shav'd round just in the Place where our Saviour wore the *Crown of Thorns*, of which it was the Emblem. But the *Scotch* Priests shav'd the Fore-Part of the Head from Ear to Ear. *Bede* does not tell us how this Matter was decided: but in all appearance it was determin'd in favour of the *Romanists*.

The Matter of *Easter* being thus carried against the *Scots*, *Colman* and all his Adherents retir'd into *Scotland*, not being able to bring themselves to submit to a Decision that appear'd to them so unjust. Thus it is in Matters of Religion, Things that seem at first perfectly indifferent, become at last of the greatest Consequence by the Pride and Uncharitableness of the Clergy. *Cedd* Bishop of the *East-Saxons*, who had been Interpreter to both Parties in the *Synod*, was the only one of the *Scotch* Party, that thought



it his Duty not to leave his Flock for a Thing of so little Moment, tho' he was of a contrary opinion to the *Romanists*. *Tuda* succeeded to *Colman's See*, and *Eatta* was made Abbot of *Lindisfarn* in the Room of him that went off with *Colman*.

Thus was the Storm, this Dispute had rais'd, at length appeas'd, to the great Satisfaction of the *Pope* and his Party, who where very sensible that their Success in this Affair wou'd mightily contribute to the establishing the *Papal* Authority over the *Northern Churches*, as in fact it really did. The Church of *Northumberland* had been govern'd for 30 Years by *Aidan*, *Finan*, and *Colman*, whom their Adversaries cou'd charge with nothing, but their firm Adherence to the Customs of their Ancestors in relation to *Easter*. After *Colman's* retiring into *Scotland*, the Government of the Church of *Northumberland* was always put into the Hands either of *Saxons* or *Foreigners* bred up in the Principles of the *Church of Rome*, the *Scotch* being entirely excluded.

*Tuda* dying soon after, *Alfred* King of *Deira* was desirous of having *Wilfrid* his Preceptor made Bishop of *Tork*, the *See* whereof was then at *Lindisfarn*. To this End he order'd him to go into *France* to be consecrated by *Agilbert* Bishop of *Paris*. But *Wilfrid* making a long stay in *France*, *Chad* then Abbot of *Lestingham* was made Bishop of the *Northumbrians*. *Chad* being gone into *Kent* to be consecrated by *Deusdedit*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and finding he was lately dead, applied to *Wine* Bishop of *Winchester* for Consecration, and then return'd into *Northumberland*. *Bede* tells us, he was a very Religious Person, without Pride or Ambition, and one that accepted of the *Episcopal* Dignity purely in Obedience to the King's Order.

In the mean while, *Wilfrid* being return'd into *England*, remain'd some time at *Canterbury* to take care of that *Dio-cese* till the Arrival of *Theodore*. After a few Months stay at *Canterbury*, he went on to *Northumberland*; where finding *Chad* was made Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, and not daring to complain of the Inconstancy of the King of *Deira*, he retir'd to his Monastery at *Rippon*. Some time after,

K k

*Theodore,*

*Theodore*, in his Visitation of all the Churches in *England*, coming to *York* severely reprimanded *Chad* for being consecrated by the Bishop of *Winchester*. *Chad* humbly submitted to his Censure, and without endeavouring to justify himself, did all the Archbishop requir'd of him. *Theodore*, charm'd with his modest Behaviour, consecrated him anew : but order'd him to return to his Monastery, to make room for *Wilfrid* whom the two Kings of *Northumberland* had design'd for the Bishoprick of *York* or *Lindisfarn*. Tho' *Bede* does not say for what reason *Chad* was sent back to his Monastery after his second Consecration, yet it is plain *Theodore* was gain'd over by the two Kings, who were for *Wilfrid*. And indeed, there seems to be no reason for deposing of *Chad*, since all Defects, supposing there had been any, were taken off by his consecrating him again.

*Wilfrid* was a Man of a very proud and haughty Temper, one of those that are for domineering wherever they come, and can't bring themselves to use towards others that condescension they expect from all the World. His Pride for some Time was supported by his Interest with the two Kings of *Northumberland*. But at length *Oswi* being dead, *Alfred* his Son depos'd, and *Egfrid* who had no opinion of this Prelate, in possession of the Throne, *Wilfrid* found he had not that Respect shown him, as in the Reign of *Oswi*. This made him very uneasy : and he cou'd nor forbear showing he was so, which perhaps he did in so insolent a Manner that he incurr'd the King's Displeasure. Some time after, *Theodore* coming again into *Northumberland*, *Egfrid* complain'd to him of *Wilfrid*, and let him know that instead of edifying the People he brought a great Scandal on Religion by his Pride and Arrogance. The King did not accuse him without good Reason. Historians are all agreed, that *Wilfrid* was excessive Proud, that he affected to live in a Royal Manner, that he never went abroad without a numerous Retinue, and that he was serv'd in Gold. *Theodore*, finding this a fit Juncture to improve the Rights of his See, and to lessen those of *York*, which had been dignified with the Title of an

Arch-

Archbishoprick in the time of *Paulinus*, was resolv'd not to let it slip. Accordingly, without hearing what *Wilfrid* had to say for himself, he depos'd him, and got the King's Leave to divide *Northumberland* into two *Dioceses*. *Bosa*, who resided at *York*, was Bishop of the first, containing the Churches of *Deira*. Over the other *See*, which continu'd fix'd at *Lindisfarn*, and consisted of the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, was plac'd *Eatta*. As *Egfrid* had for some time conquer'd *Lincolnshire* from the King of *Mercia*, he made a third Bishoprick of it, of which *Ethedus* was the first Bishop.

*Wilfrid*, enrag'd at his Disgrace, set out immediately for *Rome* to lay his Case before the *Pope*. *Theodore* not liking his going thither, sent a Monk to inform the *Pope* of the reasons of his deposing him. However, fearing *Wilfrid* might gain the *Pope* over to his Interest on account of the Service he had done the *Church of Rome* at the Council of *Whitby*, wrote to *Ebroine*, Mayor of the Palace to the King of *France*, to stop him in his Journey. *Wilfrid* inform'd of This, resolv'd to go by the way of *Friesland* \*, where *Adalgisus* the King hospitably receiv'd him, and discover'd to him that *Ebroine* had desir'd him to detain or murder him. It is said whilst he staid in *Friesland* he made a great many *Converts*. At length taking his Leave, he went on to *Strasbourg*, from whence he was safely conducted to *Rome* by the King of *Austrasia*.

*Agatho*, who was then *Pope*, having heard *Wilfrid's* Complaints, held a *Synod* upon them, who unanimously declar'd that *Wilfrid* shou'd be restor'd to his Bishoprick. *Wilfrid* having thus succeeded in his Suit, return'd Home, and presented to the King the *Sentence* of the *Synod* at *Rome*, with a Letter from the *Pope*. But *Egfrid* had so little Regard for both of Them, that after he had upbraided the Bishop for procuring them by Bribery, he put him in Prison, where he kept him a whole Year, and wou'd not then have given him his Liberty, had it not been for the

K k 2

pressing

\* *Eddius*, in *Vit. Wilfr.* says he went first to *France*, where he was way-laid, and his Company and Equipage plunder'd.



pressing Instance of his Aunt *Æbba*, and upon condition he wou'd never more set foot in *Northumberland*.

*Wilfrid*, meeting with all these discouraging Circumstances, withdrew to the Monastery of *Glassenbury*, where *Bertwald* the Abbot gave him a safe Retreat; but it lasted not long, for *Ethelred* King of *Mercia* and Uncle to *Bertwald*, desir'd him to dismiss him, upon the Account of the King of *Northumberland*. In this Perplexity *Wilfrid* fled for refuge to *Adelwalch* King of *Sussex*, who was converted during his Imprisonment in *Mercia*, but his Subjects were still Idolaters. This Prince having granted him his Protection, desir'd him to endeavour the Conversion of the People, in which he happily succeeded. In a little Time the *South-Saxons*, as well as the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Wight*, embrac'd the Christian Faith, by the Pains and Instructions of *Wilfrid*. At least this is what the Writer of his Life relates, tho' to speak the Truth it is very difficult to clear up the *Chronology* of these Facts. *Wilfrid* remain'd some Years in *Sussex*, where he was made Bishop of *Selfey*, as we shall see hereafter.

Eddius.

During his Absence, *Theodore* having taken a Third Journey to *Northumberland*, erected a new Bishoprick at *Hagulstad* [or *Hexham*,] of which *Thumbert* was the first Bishop. This he did to make amends for *Lincoln* now in the hands of the *Mercians*. Some time after *Theodore* went thither once more, and call'd a Council, wherein he got *Thumbert* to be depos'd for daring to take it ill that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* shou'd exercise his Jurisdiction over the Churches of the *North*. It was indeed contrary to the Regulations of *Gregory I.* and the *Pall* sent to *Paulinus* the first Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, plainly shou'd it was not the Intent of the Court of *Rome* that the Churches of the *North* shou'd have any Dependence on *Canterbury*. But *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman* not having vouchsaf'd to demand the *Pall* of the Pope, *York* or *Lindisfarn* had only the bare Title of a Bishoprick, which these three *Scotch* Prelates never troubled themselves about; the lording it over the Church being what was far from their Thoughts. And therefore *Theodore* finding

finding he was the sole Archbishop in *England*, laid hold of the opportunity to extend his Jurisdiction over the *North*. In order to This, in all appearance, it was that he depos'd *Wilfrid*, from whose Temper and Character he expected opposition, *that* he divided *York* into three Bishopricks, on pretence it wou'd be more convenient for the People; and lastly *that* he depos'd *Thumbert*, who had openly censur'd his Usurpations.

The same Council that depos'd *Thumbert*, chose in his Room *Cuthbert* a Monk of *Lindisfarn*, who was the only Person that oppos'd his own Election, out of an Excess of Modesty and Humility. The Bishops, who all judg'd him worthy of the *Episcopal* Character, found it a very hard matter to bring him to comply; and at last were forc'd to consent he shou'd remain at *Lindisfarn*, where he had been for a long time; for which reason *Eatta* was translated to *Hagulstad*.

685.

Some time after, *Theodore* being grown very old, and finding he had not long to live, was touch'd with Remorse for what he had acted against *Wilfrid*, and wanted to be reconcil'd to him. To this Purpose he interceeded for him so earnestly with *Alfred*, Successor to *Egfrid*, that he was recalled. The Bishoprick of *Lindisfarn* being then vacant by the voluntary Resignation of *Cuthbert*, *Bosa* was translated thither, and *Wilfrid* restor'd to *York*.

686.

*Cuthbert* being return'd to his Monastery at *Lindisfarn*, died soon after. In process of time, his Body being remov'd to *Durham*, he became so famous for Miracles, that among all the *English Saints* he had the greatest Veneration paid him.

687.

*Wilfrid* was no sooner settled in his *See*, but he undertook the annulling all that had been done during his Disgrace. He attempted the uniting again to *York* the Bishoprick of *Hagulstad*, and claim'd the Revenues that had been taken from his Church and appropriated to that Bishoprick. In fine, he pretended that all the Regulations of *Theodore* were *Null* and *Void*: And perhaps he was in the Right; but his over-bearing manner of Acting, made him meet with Opposition from all Quarters. Even *Alfred* his  
Pupil

703.

Pupil and Sovereign, not being able to bear any longer his imperious Temper, drove him once more from his Church. Thus this restless Prelate was reduc'd to seek for shelter from *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, formerly his Enemy, but now his Friend. *Mercia* being then divided into four Bishopricks, and *Leicester*, one of them, happening to be vacant, *Ethelred* promoted *Wilfrid* to that See, which however he enjoy'd but a very little while. His haughty Temper was so displeasing to the King of *Mercia*, that he dispossessed him of it in a few Months. Not content with incurring the Displeasure of the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, he took an occasion also to fall out with *Berthwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by that means forfeited his Protection, which he then stood in great need of. The two Kings his Enemies laid hold of this Opportunity to humble him. They requested *Berthwald* to call a Council, in order to examine into the Life and Actions of *Wilfrid*. The Archbishop, as matters stood between him and *Wilfrid*, readily complied with their Desire. Accordingly a Council was held at *Onestresfeld* in *Northumberland*, where *Wilfrid* was oblig'd to appear, and where he was charg'd with Crimes that deserv'd his being degraded. However, the Bishops unwilling to carry matters to that Extremity, endeavour'd by Intreaties and Threats to get him to resign his Bishoprick of his own Accord. But nothing cou'd bring him to that; he told them, it was a great Piece of Ingratitude in the *English* to use him in that Manner, after all the Services he had done the Church. The Services he boasted of were, his contributing the most of any towards fixing *Easter-Day*, according to the Usage of *Rome*, his introducing the *Roman Ritual* into the Churches of the *North*, and his bringing the *Scotch Monks* to conform to the Rules of the Order of *St. Benedict*. Upon these Accounts, said he, you ought to reward me, instead of threatenning to depose me unjustly for imaginary Crimes. But if you will dare to go on, know I'll appeal to the Pope against your Proceedings. None other has power to condemn me, and he it is alone I acknowledge for my Judge. The Council not regarding

Eddius.  
vit. Wilf.  
c. 45.



regarding his *Appeal*, unanimously depos'd him. However their rough Dealings did not in the least humble him: Tho' he was 70 years of Age, he resolv'd upon going to *Rome* for Redress. The *Pope*, always favourable to those that appeal'd to him, conven'd a *Synod* of the neighbouring Bishops, wherein *Wilfrid*, upon his single representation of Matters, was fully acquitted. After which, the *Pope* gave him *Recommendatory* Letters to *Berthwald* and the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, wherein he required them to restore *Wilfrid* in pursuance to the Decree of the *Synod*.

As soon as *Wilfrid* was return'd Home, he went to the Archbishop, who finding he came with the *Pope's* Recommendation, began to relent, and promise his Friendship. On the other Hand, *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, who was turn'd Monk, promis'd *Wilfrid* his Intercession for him: But *Alfred* at first seem'd inflexible. He said he cou'd see no manner of reason for restoring upon the *Pope's* Letter, and the *Sentence* of a foreign Council that knew but little of the Matter, a Man that had caus'd so many Disturbances, and after having been banish'd several times, had at length been lawfully depos'd by a *Synod*. But he did not hold long in this Mind. Soon after falling sick, it was put into his head, that his Distemper was a Punishment sent from God, for his disobeying the *Pope's* Orders; and this so work'd upon him, that he made a Vow to restore *Wilfrid*, in case he recover'd. Death prevented him from performing his Vow; however, he order'd *Brithrick*, whom he left Guardian to his Son *Osred*, to see it put in Execution out of hand.

Altho' *Alfred* was positively promis'd the Affair of *Wilfrid* shou'd be soon ended, it was not possible to do it, by reason of a Civil War rais'd by *Edulph*, who had usurp'd the Crown. *Wilfrid* behav'd upon this Occasion in such a Manner, as seem'd to deprive him of all hopes of ever being restor'd. As he did not doubt but *Edulph*, who was then besieging the King and *Brithrick* in *Bamborough* Castle, wou'd get the Better, he went in all haste to him, in order to make him his Friend betimes, and se-

cure

cure his Protection. This Proceeding had well nigh ruin'd him. *Edulph*, knowing he was hated by the *Northumbrians*, in order to do them a Pleasure, gave him a rugged entertainment, and forbid him ever appearing in his *Presence*. On the other side, *Brithrick* inform'd of *Wilfrid's* Conduct, lost all Kindness for him. However after the War was ended by the Death of the Usurper, *Brithrick* was brought, tho' with some Difficulty, to consent *Wilfrid* shou'd be restor'd. To this end a Council was held near the River *Nydd*, wherein it was agreed *Wilfrid* shou'd be Bishop of *Hagulstad*, with which he was fain to take up. *John*, then Bishop of that *See*, was remov'd to *York*, vacant by the Death of *Bosa*.

Eddius  
c. 58.  
708.

Thus were *Wilfrid's* matters at length determin'd, after many Rubbs. *John* in 721 resign'd his Bishoprick, and retir'd to the Monastery of *Beverly*, of which he was Abbot. He was canoniz'd after his Death, and became very famous, by the Name of St. *John of Beverly*. He was succeeded in the *See* of *York* by *Wilfrid the younger* his Chaplain. To *Wilfrid the elder* succeeded in the *See* of *Hugulstad*, *Acca* one of the Priests that had attended him in his Journey to *Rome*, where he became a great Proficient in *Church-Musick*, which, says *Bede*, 'twas impracticable for him to learn in his own Country. *Wilfrid the younger* was succeeded in the *See* of *York* by *Egbert*, Brother to *Edbert* King of *Northumberland*.

l. 5. c. 23.

It was necessary to be a little particular about the erecting the *Northern* Bishopricks, the Succession of the first Bishops, and the Alterations occasion'd by *Wilfrid*; without all which, it wou'd be a difficult Matter to give a distinct Notion of the Churches of these Parts. Hence also may be seen, how the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had an Opportunity of exercising his Jurisdiction over all *England*, contrary to the Regulation of *Gregory I.* To this also the enterprising *Genius* of *Theodore*, and the deposing of *Wilfrid* contributed. Had this last continued in the *See* of *York*, he wou'd doubtless have obtain'd the *Pall*, and by that means put a stop to *Theodore's* Proceedings.



The Dignity of *Archbishop of York, and Metropolitan of the North* vanish'd with *Paulinus*. After that *Prelate* had left *Northumberland*, and the *Northumbrians* deserted the *Faith*, the Monks *Oswald* sent for from *Scotland* to instruct the People, were contented with the bare Title of Bishop, without applying to the *Pope* for the *Pall*, whose Jurisdiction they acknowledg'd not. Afterwards *Wilfrid*, Successor to *Colman*, having been depos'd, the Bishoprick of the *Northumbrians* was divided into Four, namely, *Tork, Whithern, Lindisfarn, and Hagulstad*. This Division was a fresh Obstacle against the Bishop of *Tork's* desiring the *Pall*, his *See* being so considerably lessen'd by it. Besides, *Bosa, John, and Wilfrid the younger*, who were successively Bishops of *Tork*, were Men of Piety and Honesty, that thought of nothing less than aspiring to more honourable Titles. But *Egbert*, who was Bishop of *Tork* whilst his Brother sat on the Throne of *Northumberland*, having more Ambition than his Predecessors, took the advantage of the Respect they had for him at *Rome* on account of his Birth, and procur'd the *Pall* with the *Archiepiscopal* Dignity : By which means he acquir'd a Jurisdiction over the three other *northern* Bishops, who became his *Suffragans*. From that time the *Archbishops of Tork* began to be upon a Level with those of *Canterbury*, and to insist on *Gregory's* Regulation, whereby he order'd there shou'd be an entire Equality and Independency between the two *Archbishops*. On the other hand, the *Archbishops of Canterbury* pleaded the Jurisdiction *Theodore* had exercis'd over the *North*, and all the rest of *England*. Hence arose a Contest between the two *Metropolitans*, which was not decided till many Ages after. *Alcuinus* gives *Egbert*, whom he calls his Master, the Character of an Able and Learned Prelate, and takes notice of his building a Library at *Tork*, and furnishing it with a noble Collection of Books. *Eanbald* who succeeded *Egbert*, was living at the time of the Dissolution of the *Hierarchy*.

Malm.  
l. i. c. 3.  
744



## The Church of WESSEX.

It does not appear that *Austin* sent any of his Companions to preach the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Wessex*. It was not till 40 Years after his Arrival in *Britain* that the *West-Saxons* were converted by the Ministry of *Birinus*.  
 634. This Priest, out of his Zeal for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ, having been inform'd there were still, in *England*, Nations to whom the Gospel had not been preach'd, desir'd Pope *Honorius* to send him thither. His request being granted, he receiv'd the *Episcopal* Character, and set out for *England*, not knowing for certain on what Nation Providence wou'd throw him, nor on whom in particular he design'd to lay out his charitable Care. He accidentally arriv'd in the Kingdom of *Wessex*; and finding the Inhabitants were Idolaters, he resolv'd to stay  
 635. among them and endeavour their Conversion. After some time he had the Satisfaction to baptize *Cinigisil* the King and *Quicelm* his Brother. Soon after *Birinus* found his  
 636. Audience was become very numerous, Multitudes following the Examples of their Kings. He continued for 14 Years to edifie his new Converts by his Discourses and Example, and at length, after he had made a considerable Progress, he died at *Dorchester*, where he had built a Church and fix'd his *Episcopal See*.  
 Bede, l. 3.  
 c. 7.

After *Birinus's* Death, *Cenowalch*, who succeeded his Father *Cinigisil*, being as yet a *Pagan*, was no favourer of the Christians. But what was worse, *Penda* King of *Mercia* became Master of his Kingdom and kept it three Years, *Cenowalch* being forc'd to fly for refuge into *East-Anglia*. We may easily guess, Christianity, during these 3 Years, made no great Progress. Besides *Penda's* being an Idolater, it is unlikely Religion shou'd flourish in the midst of Wars and Commotions. *Cenowalch* had the good Fortune to be converted during his Retreat in *East-Anglia*, and afterwards to be restor'd to his Dominions. The peaceable Times that ensu'd, gave him an opportunity of making Religion lift up its head again in *Wessex*, where, since *Birinus's*  
 646. Death,

Death, none had been very forward to go and fortifie the new Christians. Whilst the King was looking out for some fit Person to preach to his Subjects, *Agilbert* a French Man, who was just come from his Studies in *Ireland*, pass'd thro' *Winchester* in his way Home. *Cenowalch* having seen him, invited him to stay with him in order to instruct the People. *Agilbert* comply'd with his request; and having been consecrated Bishop, he went and resided at *Dorchester*. But as he had not the Gift of Languages, he made but little Progress. *Cenowalch* perceiving he cou'd not learn the *English* Tongue, and that it was impossible his Subjects shou'd edify by the Instructions of one who spoke a foreign Dialect, began to grow weary of him. At length he divided his Kingdom into two *Dioceses*, and leaving *Agilbert* at *Dorchester*, he made one *Wina* a Saxon that had been bred up and consecrated in *France*, Bishop of *Winchester*. *Agilbert* cou'd not bear the King shou'd make this Partition without consulting him, much less, that he shou'd give the Preference to the new Bishop by placing him in his Capital. His Complaints upon this occasion not being much regarded, he took his Leave and retir'd into *France*, where he was made Bishop of *Paris*. He return'd afterwards into *England* to assist at the Council of *Whitby*. In the mean time, *Cenowalch* falling out with *Wina*, outed him also.

650.

660.

666.

*Wessex* remaining thus without a Bishop, and Ecclesiasticks fit for such an Employment not being very common in *England*, *Cenowalch* wou'd have recall'd *Agilbert*, who did not think proper to quit *Paris* for *Winchester*. However he made an Offer to the King of his Nephew *Eleutherius*, a Priest, whom he recommended as well qualified for the *Episcopal* Functions. *Eleutherius*, being accepted of, and consecrated by *Theodore*, became sole Bishop of the *West-Saxons*.

670.

After the Death of *Cenowalch*, *Wessex* was troubled with Civil Wars for 10 Years. *Eleutherius*, dying during the Troubles, was succeeded by *Heda*; after whose Death, the number of Christians being very much encreas'd in *Wessex*, it was found necessary to divide the Kingdom again

into two *Dioceses*, the *Sees* whereof were fix'd at *Winchester* and *Sherborn*. *Daniel* was made Bishop of the First, and *Aldhelm* of the Last, who was Nephew to King *Ina*, and the first *Englismen* that wrote in Latin, a Language he was better skill'd in than any of his Countrymen before him. When he was promoted to his Bishoprick, he was Abbot of the Monastery of *Malmsbury*, so nam'd from *Maidulph* a Scotch Man the first Abbot, and *Aldhelm* his Successor (a). *Forthere*, who according to *Bede*, was well vers'd in the Holy Scriptures, was Bishop of *Sherborn* after *Aldhelm*, and to *Daniel* succeeded *Almund* in the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. From that Time to the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy* I meet with nothing in the Ecclesiastical History of *Wessex* worth taking notice of.

### The Church of MERCIA.

The *Mercians* were not brought over to the *Christian Faith*, till 50 Years after the Conversion of *Kent*. *Penda*, who reign'd above 30 Years, was of a too haughty and turbulent Spirit to embrace a Religion so contrary to his Temper and Character. However Divine Providence so order'd Matters that this Prince was induc'd, tho' not to profess yet at least to tolerate the Christian Religion in his Dominions. *Peda* his eldest Son, whom he had made King of *Leicester*, being gone to *Northumberland* in order to demand *Alfreda* King *Osny's* Daughter in Marriage, cou'd obtain her upon no other Terms but his turning Christian. Whether the young Prince was apprehensive he shou'd meet with the same obstruction to his Marriage in all the other Kingdoms, which were already converted, or whether he had a favorable opinion of Christianity, he receiv'd Baptism before he left *Northumberland*. At his Return, he brought with him four Priests, *Cedda*, *Adda*, *Beti* and *Diurma*, to preach the Gospel to the *Mercians*:

643.

(a) *Maidulph-Aldhelm-bury*, by contraction *Malmsbury* (i. e.) the Tomb of *Maidulph* and *Aldhelm*. \* *Aldhelm* was alive in *Bede's* Time. l. 5. c. 19.



ans: Which the King his Father oppos'd not, either out of Complaisance to his Son, or because all Religions were indifferent to him. *Diuma*, who was a *Scotch* Man, and the only Bishop of the Four, govern'd the *Mercian* Church prosperously for some Years; he and his Companions having met with a plentiful Harvest in *Mercia*, the largest of the Seven Kingdoms, and the Last that was converted. *Cellach* succeeded *Diuma*.

After the Death of *Penda*, *Mercia* was subject three Years to *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*; but he being a Christian, Religion receiv'd no Detriment from this Revolution. But when *Wulpher* ascended the Throne, being as yet an Idolater, he was carried by a false Zeal, to persecute his Christian Subjects, even to the putting to death two of his own Sons, who refus'd to renounce their Faith, if they may be credited who relate this Fact, which does not seem to be well supported at all. Luckily for the Christians this Storm lasted not long, *Wulpher* being converted soon after. Rob. de Swapham.

During this Persecution, *Cellach* retir'd into *Scotland*. So that *Mercia* being without a Bishop, when *Wulpher* embrac'd the Gospel, he sent for an *English* Priest, nam'd *Trumhere*, who had been educated in *Scotland*, and got him consecrated Bishop of *Mercia*. To him succeeded *Faruman*, who had the Honour of replanting the Christian Religion in the Kingdom of *Essex*, as will be related hereafter. Upon *Faruman*'s Death, *Wulpher* desir'd *Theodore* to send him a Bishop. *Theodore* gladly complied with his request, as giving him a good opportunity of promoting *Chad*\*, whom he had depriv'd of the See of *York*, in the manner before related in the History of the Church of *Northumberland*. *Chad* being come to *Mercia*, fix'd his See at *Lichfield*, where he died, after he had govern'd the Church prudently and happily for many Years. I am perswaded it will not be taken amiss, that I refer Those to *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, who are desirous of seeing a List of St. *Chad's* Miracles, and the Hymns the Angels sung in the Air over his House when he lay a dying. 659.

Upon

664.

\* or Ceada.

669.

l. 4. c. 3.

675.

\* after-  
wards Pe-  
terbor-  
row.

680.

\* See  
Church of  
Northum.

Upon the death of *Chad*, *Theodore* promoted to the See of *Lichfield*, *Winfrid* a Priest, whom he depos'd soon after for daring to expostulate with him for assuming too great an Authority over the other Bishops. He had serv'd another in the same Manner in *Northumberland* upon the like Account. *Saxulph*, Abbot of *Medes-hamsted* \*, was made Bishop in *Winfrid's* Room. But as the Christians daily encreas'd in *Mercia*, *Ethelred*, Successor to *Wulpher*, finding one Bishop was not sufficient for so large a Flock, divided his Kingdom into four *Dioceses*, the *Sees* whereof were establish'd at *Lichfield*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Leicester*. *Saxulph* continued at *Lichfield*. *Faddrick* was sent to *Worcester*, but dying before he was consecrated, *Boselus* was put in his Place. *Cuthwin* was Bishop of *Leicester*, and *Putta* of *Hereford*. After *Cuthwin's* Death, *Leicester* was united to *Lichfield*; but some time after they were separated again upon *Wilfrid's* account, who was outed of the See of *York*, and held not This long \*. *Heda* succeeded *Saxulph* in the Bishoprick of *Lichfield*. I pass over in silence the Particulars of no moment relating to the *Mercian* Churches, with the Succession of their Bishops, to come at the Change that happen'd in the Reign of *Offa*, by the erecting *Lichfield* into an *Archbishoprick*. *Offa*, jealous of the Authority the Archbishop of *Canterbury* exercis'd over the Churches of *Mercia*, and having besides a particular Quarrel to *Lambert* who then fill'd the *Archiepiscopal See*, resolv'd to withdraw the Churches of *Mercia* from his Jurisdiction. To this End, he privately sollicitated *Pope Adrian I.* to make the Bishop of *Lichfield* an Archbishop, and the Bishops of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* his *Suffragans*. The Pope willingly consented to his Request, as glad of the opportunity, by obliging this Prince, of extending over the Church of *England* his Jurisdiction, which was not as yet thoroughly submitted to, or at least not to that Degree he desir'd. With this View he sent *Gregory* Bishop of *Ostia* and *Theophilact* Bishop of *Todi*, with the Character of *Legates* to transact this Affair. As they were willing to hinder *Lambert* from taking any Measures to obstruct this Design, the

784.



the sending of these *Legates* was pretended to be on account of calling *Synods* in *England* for the confirming the Churches in the *Faith*. Upon the Arrival of the *Legates*, *Theophilaet* stay'd some Time with *Offa* to concert Measures how to bring about their Matters; whilst *Gregory* went on to *Northumberland*, where he conven'd a *Synod*, of which I shall speak in another Place. At his return to *Mercia*, the two *Legates* summon'd a National Council of the seven Kingdoms at *Calcuith*, where King *Offa* was present. After ratifying the *Canons* of the *Northumberland-Synod*, the erecting of *Lichfield* into an *Archiepiscopal See* was propos'd. *Lambert* oppos'd it to the utmost of his Power, but all in vain. The matter having been settled before-hand, the Authority of *Offa* and the *Legates* bore down all Opposition. *Higbert*, then Bishop of *Lichfield*, was declar'd an Archbishop, and the Bishops of *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* were made his *Suffragans*. He was prevented by Death from receiving the *Pall*, but *Adulph* his successor, had that honour from the Pope, who ratified what the Council had done. Some are of opinion *Offa* purchas'd this Favour with the Tax of the *Peter-pence* levied on *Mercia* and *East-Anglia*: but this is only Conjecture. *Lichfield* enjoy'd the Title of an Archbishoprick not above 14 Years. After the Death of *Offa* and *Egfrid* his Son, *Cenulph* was so far prevail'd upon by the pressing Instances of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, who represented to him that according to the Regulation of *Gregory I.* there ought to be but two Archbishops in *England*, that he wrote to the Pope with his own hand, to desire him to put Things upon their ancient Foot again. *Adelard*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, took upon him the Management of this Affair at *Rome*, where (after a nine Years sollicitation) he got Pope *Leo III.* to order, that *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* shou'd again be under the Jurisdiction of the *See* of *Canterbury*. From that Time to the Reign of *Egbert*, nothing remarkable relating to the Church happened in *Mercia*, except the Councils, of which I shall speak elsewhere.

785.

800.

The



## The Church of ESSEX.

604. *Mellitus*, one of the *Missionaries* sent over to *Austin*, was the first that preach'd the Gospel to the *East-Saxons*, particularly at *London*. As far as can be judg'd, he made no great Progress among the People. In all appearance, what success he met with was entirely owing to the Authority of *Sebert* King of *Essex* and *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*; since upon their Deaths, all the *East-Saxon* Christians fell back to *Paganism*, and expell'd *Mellitus* without ever admitting him any more.

614. The Conversion therefore of the *East-Saxons* is not properly to be dated from this Time, but rather from the Reign of *Sigebert the Good*. This Prince living in strict Friendship with *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*, and paying him frequent Visits, had the good fortune to be instructed in the Knowledge of the Gospel at his Court, where he was baptis'd. He brought Home with him *Cedd*, a *Northumbrian* Priest, of whom I have spoken before, and who having been consecrated Bishop, heartily set about instructing the *East-Saxons*, among whom in a short time he made a very great Progress. He was the only *Scotch* Man that, after the Council of *Whitby*, was unwilling to leave his Flock, tho' the Controversy about *Easter* was decided contrary to his opinion. Nay he went so far as to blame *Colman* and the rest of his Countrymen for deserting their Flocks for a Matter of so little Moment. His strict Adherence to *Ecclesiastical Discipline* was the occasion of *Sigebert's* Death, or at least was pretended to be so, as has been related in the History of the Kingdom of *Essex*. As *Cedd* went often to *Northumberland*, where he had spent great part of his Life, *Adelwald*, King of *Deira*, made him a Present of certain Lands lying near *Lestingham*, where he founded a Monastery. Thither was he wont to retire in order to practice the greatest *Austerities*. Here also it was that he died of the Plague after he had govern'd the Church of *Essex* several Years. *Bede*, who gives *Cedd* great Encomiums, and mentions his austere way of living, takes occasion from thence to say, that *Fasting* was

was religiously practis'd by All who pretended to any Thing of a regular life, and adds, that some fasted every *Wednesday* and *Friday* till three a clock in the Afternoon. The *Saxon Homeldes* also most earnestly recommended *Fasting*: but at the same Time take care to warn Christians against overacting their Part in this respect, as some did, and talk very rationally upon this Article.

After the Death of *Sigebert the Good*, and *Swithelm* his Brother, it happen'd that in the Reign of *Sebba* and *Siger* the Plague rag'd terribly in the Kingdom of *Essex*, particularly at *London*. *Siger* being perswaded that the Plague was sent upon the *East-Saxons* as a Punishment from the Gods for abandoning the Religion of their Ancestors, return'd to Idolatry, and drew after him those of his Subjects who had not been thoroughly converted. But *Sebba* stedfastly adher'd to the Christian Religion. *Wulpher*, King of *Mercia*, on whom these two Princes were then in Dependence, having been inform'd of what pass'd in *Essex*, sent thither *Jaruman* his Bishop, to endeavour the Restoring the *East-Saxons* to the Way of Truth. The Pains of this Prelate were crown'd with so good Success, that the People at length came over again to the *Faith*. Shortly after, *Wulpher*, who acted as he pleas'd in the Kingdom of *Essex*, gave the first Instance of *Simony* in *England*, by selling the Bishoprick of *London* to *Wina*, who had been driven from *Winchester*. He govern'd the Church of *Essex* till his Death in 675. His Successor was *Erkenwald*, famous for his great Affection to the City of *London*, as well as for the Holiness of his Life, on account of which he was enroll'd in the Catalogue of the *Saints*. After his Death a great Contest arose between the *Canons* of *St Paul's* at *London*, and the Monks of *Barking*, who shou'd bury him. The First carried their Point and interr'd him in their *Cathedral*, where it is affirm'd he wrought several Miracles. It will be needless to carry down the Succession of the Bishops of *London* to the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, since nothing remarkable happen'd in that Interval.

664.

666.

## The Church of EAST-ANGLIA.

The first Conversion of the *East-Angles* is said to be in the Reign of *Redowald*; but by whom is not known. There is reason to believe, that during this Prince's Life, the Christian Religion made no great Progress in *East-Anglia*. All that can be probably conjectur'd, is, that *Redowald*, out of Respect for *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, (at whose Court some say he was baptis'd) gave leave to some of *Austin's* Companions to preach in his Dominions, and persecuted not Those who had a mind to embrace the Gospel. What is said of his suffering the True God and the Pagan Deities to be worship'd in the same Temple, seems to infer that he was not himself a Christian, and that the Number of Converts in *East-Anglia* was very inconsiderable. Thus much at least is certain, Christianity flourish'd not in that Kingdom, in His or his Son *Erpwald's* Reign. And therefore we can't be greatly mistaken in placing the Conversion of the *East-Angles* in the Reign of *Sigebert*, Successor to *Erpward*.

This Prince, who had spent great part of his Time in *France*, where he had been baptis'd, was thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion. When he return'd Home, in order to take Possession of the Crown, he brought along with him a *Burgundian* Priest, nam'd *Felix*, whom he got consecrated Bishop at *Canterbury*. *Felix*, upon his Arrival in *East-Anglia*, applied his Endeavours to the bringing over to the True Religion, those that had gone astray, and the instructing those who had never had any knowledge of the Truth. *Felix* was so surprizingly successful in his Labours, that the *East-Angles* came in shoals to be baptis'd. In the mean Time, *Sigebert*, knowing nothing wou'd make more for the Benefit of his Subjects, than permanent and continual Instructions to confirm them in the Faith, erected Schools, after the Manner of *Those* he had seen in *France*. Some will have it

\* that



\* that the *University of Cambridge* owes its Original to these *Schools* : but this Opinion seems not to be well grounded.

Whilst *Sigebert* was thus employ'd in Works of Piety, he receiv'd farther Assistance from one *Fursus* an *Irish* Monk, who preach'd to the *East-Angles* with good Success. *Bede* gives him an extraordinary Commendation; *l. 3. c. 29.* attributes several Miracles to him, and assures us he was, like *St. Paul*, rapt up into Heaven. This same *Fursus* built a Monastery at *Cnobersburgh* \*, which was largely endow'd at several Times by the Kings of *East-Anglia*. The Troubles that arose after *Sigebert's* resigning the Crown, oblig'd *Fursus* to retire into *France*, where he founded the Monastery of *Lagny* in the Jurisdiction of *Meaux*.

*Felix* was Bishop of the *East-Angles* 17 Years; his See was fix'd at *Dunmoe*, a little Town by the Sea side, now call'd *Dunwich* \*. Here it was he had the Satisfaction to convert and baptise *Cenowalh* King of *Wessex*, who had fled for Refuge into *East-Anglia*. *Felix* was succeeded by *Thomas* a Deacon of his Church; after him came *Berhtgislus*, surnam'd *Boniface*, whom *Bisus* succeeded. *Bisus* being grown old and infirm, *Becca* and *Badwin* were made his Assistants, and *East-Anglia* divided into two Dioceses. *Becca* resided at *Dunmoe*, and *Badwin* at *Elmham*, a poor Village now in *Norfolk*. These two Bishopricks continued in Being, till the *Danes* becoming Masters of *East-Anglia*, they both lay vacant for above 100 Years. After which, the Diocese of *Dunmoe* was united to That of *Elmham*. From whence the *Episcopal See* was remov'd to *Thetford* \*, and afterwards to *Norwich* \*, where it remains to this day.

\* in *Suffolk* it is said to have had 50 Churches.

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\* *Polydore Virgil*, *Leland*, *Bale*, &c. are of this Opinion. But their Authority is much weaken'd by the silence of *Bede*, *Florence of Worcester*, *Malmesbury*, and *Huntingdon*, who make no mention of *Cambridge*. \* Now *Burgh-Castle* in *Suffolk*.

\* *Theodford* (i.e.) the Ford of the People, in *Norfolk*. \* *Norwich* (i.e.) the North-Castle. Which signifies among other Things a Castle.

## The Church of SUSSEX.

It is no wonder the Kingdom of *Sussex* continued so long after the rest in an Idolatrous State, since it was in Subjection to *Wessex*, where the Gospel was not preach'd till 40 Years after the Arrival of *Austin*. If we may credit the Author \* of *the Life of Wilfrid* Bishop of *York*, the Conversion of the *South-Saxons* about the Year 686, was owing to the Disgrace of that Prelate, who had fled for refuge into their Country. *Adelwalch*, King of *Sussex*, who had receiv'd him into his Protection, had already attempted the Conversion of his Subjects, by founding a Monastery in his little Kingdom \*: but his Labour was all in vain. Perhaps *Wilfrid* himself wou'd have found it a difficult Matter to have made any Impression upon them, had not a favorable Juncture unexpectedly pav'd the Way for him. Not long after his Arrival, the Country being miserably distress'd for want of Provisions, he taught the

Eddius. \* Inhabitants the Art of Fishing in the Sea, their Skill before going no farther than the Catching of Eels. This Improvement greatly relieving them, wrought so upon their Minds, that they listen'd with the same Attention to his Instructions about their *Spiritual*, as they had before to *Those* about their *bodily* wants. But to compleat the Matter, seasonable Showers, after a three Years Drought, restoring to the Earth its former Fruitfulness, they were thoroughly convinc'd that *Wilfrid* was an extraordinary Person, and highly favour'd by *Heaven*. At least this is what the Writer of his *Life* wou'd fain make us believe. *Wilfrid*, perceiving the Christians daily to encrease, establish'd his Episcopal See at *Selfey* \*, a small *Peninsula* given him by *Adelwalch*. He founded there a Monastery also, which he furnish'd with the Monks he had brought with him from *Northumberland*. Here he usually resided during

Bede. l. 4. c. 13. 686.

\* At *Bosenharn*, where *Bede* says one *Dicul* a Scotchman with 5 or 6 Monks liv'd, but cou'd not prevail with the *South-Saxons* to turn Christians. \* (i.e.) *Seals*. The Ruins of this City are still to be seen at Low-water.

ing the time of his Banishment. At length being recall'd into his own Country, *Selsey* remain'd a long while without a Bishop, because the *South-Saxons*, after their becoming subject to the Kings of *Wessex*, were put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the *West-Saxons*. Some time after, *Wessex* being divided into two *Dioceses*, *Sussex* was annex'd to the *See* of *Winchester*; where it continu'd till a *Synod* held in *Wessex*, in the time of *Daniel*, decreed *Sussex* shou'd be a distinct *Diocese* again, and the *See* fix'd at *Selsey* as formerly. *Edbert* was the first Bishop. His Successors resided at the same Place, down to the Year 1070, when the *See* was remov'd to *Chichester* \*, where it is at present.

As for the *Isle of Wight*, after it was converted by the furious Zeal of *Cedwalla*, it remain'd all along under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Winchester*.

After this Account of the most remarkable Particulars relating to the Conversion of the *Seven Kingdoms*, it will be necessary to take a general view of the *Councils* held in *England*, during those early Times of the Church.

### C O U N C I L S.

I have already spoken of the two *Synods* conven'd at *Austin's* Request, in order to endeavour the bringing over the *Britons* to the obedience of the *Pope*. Tho' these were not properly *English*, but rather *British* Councils; I shall not however pass them over without making this one observation. *Bede*, in his *Ecclesiastical History* tells us, that *Austin* requir'd of the *British* Bishops, these four Things: That they wou'd celebrate the *Paschal Feast* the same Day with the *Romanists*: That they wou'd conform to the Ceremonies practis'd by the *Church of Rome* in administering *Baptism*: That they wou'd assist the *Roman Missionaries*, in converting the *Saxons*: That they wou'd submit to the *Papal Authority*. Had *Austin* equally insist-ed on these four Articles, *Bede* wou'd naturally have related the

\* *Cissan-cesler* (i. e.) the City of *Cissa*, the Son of *Ella* 1st King of *Sussex*.



the Sentiments of the *British* Bishops, concerning the Three *First*, and yet we find, he speaks only of the *Last*. Hence we may conclude, that This was the *Main* Point, and what *Austin* chiefly dwelt upon. Which is the Reason the Abbot of *Bangor*, answer'd only to that Point, as plainly perceiving that was the Article they principally drove at.

There is no occasion to add any Thing to what has already been said of the Council of *Whitby* or *Streanesbath* and the other *Synods* that were held upon the account of *Wilfrid*.

The Council  
of Hert-  
ford.  
673.

In 673, *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, conven'd a *National Synod* at *Hertford*, at which were present all the *English* Bishops, with a great Number of other *Ecclesiasticks*. The Archbishop, who was President, put the Question to the Bishops whether they were willing the *Church of England* shou'd be govern'd by the *Canons* of the *Antient Councils*. To which they all having agreed, he produc'd a List of the *Canons*, and pitching upon ten of Them, order'd them to be read before the *Council*, and ask'd their Consent to each of them.

Bede, l. 4.  
c. 5.

I. That the *Festival of Easter* might be uniformly kept in all the *English* Churches on the first Sunday after the full Moon in *March*.

II. That no Bishop shou'd encroach upon the Jurisdiction of another.

III. That no Monk shou'd have the Liberty to quit his Monastery without Leave from the Abbot.

IV. That Bishops shou'd not meddle with the Temporal Concerns of the Monasteries.

V. That it shou'd not be lawful for any of the *Clergy* to abandon their *Diocess*, without the Bishop's Leave, and that they shou'd not be receiv'd into another *Diocess*, without a Recommendation under the Bishop's own hand.

VI. That Bishops, who are out of their *Diocess*, ought not to execute any Part of their Function, but shou'd be contented with an hospitable Reception.

VII. That a *Synod* shou'd be conven'd twice a Year.  
But this Canon was alter'd to once a Year.

8. That

VIII. That new *Sees* be erected, as the Number of Christians encreas'd. *This was thrown out.*

IX. That the Bishops shou'd take their Places at Councils according to their Seniority.

X. That no Marriage shou'd be annull'd but on account of Adultery. That if a Man put off his Wife, he ought not to marry another: but either be reconcil'd, or live single.

Nine of these *Canons* being agreed to, the Council denounc'd *Excommunication* and *Degradation* against all that shou'd make any Infraction upon them, and then broke up.

*Baronius* pretends, This *Council* was conven'd by the Pope's Order, and that *Theodore* presided as *Legate* of the *Holy See*. But when we examine the grounds of his Assertion, we find he founds it only upon *Theodore's* saying in his Harangue at the opening of the Council, that he was consecrated by the Pope, as if that were equivalent to his being made a *Legate*. *Bede*, *Malmsbury*, *Florence of Worcester*, who speak of this Council, say not a word to support the *Cardinal's* Notion.

*Theodore* summon'd another Council or Synod at *Hatfield* \* in 680, at the Request of the Pope, who wanted to know the Sentiments of the Church of England with reference to the *Heresy* of the *Monothelites* \*, which then made a great Noise in the World. The Pope had all the Satisfaction he desir'd, the *English* being entirely free from that Error. This Synod receiv'd the five first General Councils \*, together with the Synod held just before at Rome, against the *Monothelites*.

The next Council was conven'd at *Becanceld* in 694, by *Withred* King of *Kent*, who presided himself, the Council being compos'd of the Clergy and Nobility. The Constitutions were all drawn up in the Form of a Charter, wherein the King granted several Privileges to the Church, particularly, an Exemption from the Payment of Taxes and other

The Council of Hatfield.

680.

*Bede*, l. 6. c. 17 & 18.

The Council of Becanceld.

694.

\* Now Bishop's-Hatfield in Hertfordshire. \* They held that Christ had but one Will. \* The Council of Nice in 325. of Constantinople in 381. of Ephesus in 431. of Chalcedon, in 451, and of Constantinople in 553.

other *Services* and Incumberances incident to a *Lay-fee*. He declares moreover that the Church has a Power to govern her own Body, the *Prerogative Royal* not reaching to Religious Matters. This Article has given occasion to some to call in question the *Genuineness* of this *Council* \*. They object, for Instance, that the five *Abbeses*, who subscrib'd this *Charter*, not only sign'd before all the Priests but also before *Botred* a Bishop, contrary to all Precedent. On the other Hand, others \* are as zealous in the Defence of it, as making for the *Independency* of the Church. It wou'd carry me too far from my present Design to examine the Reasons *pro* and *con*. It is sufficient to acquaint the Reader, there is such a Dispute.

The Council of Berkhamsted.

697.

\* Hertfordshire.

The next Year the *Synod of Berkhamsted* \* was held in the Reign of the same King. It was compos'd, like the foregoing one, of *Clergy* and *Laity*. Its *Canons* related chiefly to the Sin of Adultery, and the *Privileges* of the *Clergy*. As for Adultery, it was enacted that the guilty Person shou'd be put under *Penance*; and if he refused to submit to that Discipline, he shou'd be excommunicated. If he was a *stranger*, he was to forfeit 100 Shillings.

As for the *Clergy*, it was decreed, that the Church shou'd be *free* and enjoy all her *Privileges*.

That the Breach of the Church's *Peace* shou'd be punish'd with a Fine of 50 Shillings.

That the bare Affirmation of the King or a Bishop should be equivalent to their *Oath*.

That if a Bishop or Abbot is charg'd with any Crime, and being brought to the Altar he declares solemnly, *he speaks the Truth*: This Declaration shall be the same as his *Oath*.

That if any Clergyman shou'd be prosecuted, the *Cognisance* of the Cause belongs to the Church.

Thus by Degrees the *Clergy* obtain'd their *Privileges*, which they have but too often made an ill use of.

The

\* Dr. Wake, our present Archbishop, has wrote against it. *State of the Church, &c.* p. 140. \* Collier defends it. p. 114. *Ecclesiastical Hist.*



The two *Councils* that were pretended to be held at *London* and *Alne* \* in 714, being look'd upon by the best Authorities as forg'd, it wou'd be lost time to say any Thing about Them.

\* Northumberland.

In 747 was held at *Cloveshoo* or *Cliff* \* in the Kingdom of *Kent* a *National Synod*, at which *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* was present, with twelve Bishops and abundance of the Nobility. *Cuthbert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was President, read Pope *Zachary's* Letter, wherein the Pope admonish'd the *English* to reform their Lives, and threatened Those with Excommunication that continued in their wicked Courses. They drew up a Body of 28 *Canons*, most of them relating to *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, the Government of *Monasteries*, the Duties of Bishops, and other Clergymen, the Publick Service, Singing *Psalms*, Keeping the *Sabbath*, and other *Holydays*. I shall mention the three following ones as containing some thing particular in Them.

The Synod of Cloveshoo.

747. Malm. de Gest. Pon. l. 1.

The Xth orders the Priests to be thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrines of Christianity, and to teach the People the *Apostles Creed* and *Lord's Prayer* in *English*. Agreeable to this was *Bede's* Advice to *Egbert* Archbishop of *York*; that it was absolutely necessary Christians shou'd know what they said, when they pray'd to God; and that they shou'd be instructed in their own native Tongue, and therefore that he himself had translated the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer* into *English* for the benefit of Those that did not understand *Latin*.

Bede. Ep. ad Eg.

The XXVIth warns Christians from vainly imagining that by giving *Alms* they cou'd compound for their Sins, or dispense with the *Discipline* of the Church.

The XXVIIth was made upon the Account of a rich *Layman*, who having been excommunicated, requested to be admitted again into the Church, upon his having procur'd

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\* *Cliff at Hoo*, is a town on a Rock near *Rocheſter*. But the Presence of the King of *Mercia* at this and some other *Councils* held at *Cloveshoo*, makes it suppos'd that it is the ſame with *Abington* in *Berkſhire*, about the Middle of the Nation, antiently written *Shoveſham* by miſtake for *Clovesham* or *Cloveshoo*.

cur'd several Persons to *fast* in his stead ; alledging that the *Penance* they had undergone in his Name, was more than he cou'd have done himself in 300 Years. The *Canon* declares with great Indignation against this intolerable Presumption, since at that Rate, the *Rich* might much more easily get to Heaven than the *Poor*, contrary to the Express Declaration of our Saviour.

In this *Canon*, we have the Form of a Prayer for the *Dead*, which runs thus: O Lord, we beseech thee, grant that the Soul of such a Person, may be secur'd in a State of Repose, and admitted, with the Rest of thy Saints, into the Regions of Light and Bliss.

The Council of Calcuith.  
765.

The Council of *Calcuith* or *Calchite*, held in 765, or according to others in 767, on the account of erecting *Lichfield* into an Archbishoprick, ratified the *Canons* of a Synod that had been conven'd just before in *Northumberland*. *Gregory* and *Theophylact*, who presided as the Popes Legates, acknowledg'd in their Letter to the Pope, that they were the first that had been sent into *England* with that Character. These are some of the *Canons* of the Synod of *Northumberland*, ratified by the Council of *Calcuith*.

I. That All in holy Orders strictly adhere to the Council of *Nice*.

II. That *Baptism* is only to be administred at *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, unless in case of Necessity. That it is the Duty of *God-fathers*, to teach their *God-children* the *Creed* and the *Lord's Prayer*, both which all Christians are oblig'd to have by Heart.

VIII. The antient Privileges of the Church are carefully to be preserv'd.

*This was a never-failing Canon in all the Councils.*

IX. The Priests are not to eat in private, unless indispos'd. By this one wou'd think the Clergy were not dispers'd in *Parishes*, but lived all in the Capital of the Diocess in Common.

The Xth forbids the Clergy to perform the *Divine Service* without *Stockings*, and to use a *Chalice* or *Pattin* of *Horn*.

The

The XIth exhorts Princes to govern their Kingdoms by the Directions of the Bishops, to whom the Power of *Binding* and *Loosing* is deliver'd.

The XIIth excludes *Bastards* from succeeding to the Crown.

The XV condemns Marriages within the prohibited Degrees.

The XVIth makes *Bastards*, particularly the Children of *Nuns*, incapable of inheriting.

The XVIIth urges the Payment of Tithes from the Authority of the Law of *Moses*.

The XVIIIth presses a strict performance of *Vows*.

Some Irregularities in the *Subscription List* in the several Copies of the *Canons* of this Council, have made some question the Matter of Fact. But I doubt whether these Irregularities are sufficient to render the whole questionable \*.

In 798, a *Synod* was held at *Finchale* in *Northumberland*, *The Synod* by *Eanbald* Archbishop of *York*. The Design of this *of Finchale* Meeting was to make some Regulations with regard to *Discipline*: but here occasionally the Archbishop order'd the *Canons* of the first five *General Councils* to be read, which were unanimously receiv'd.

The Council held at *Cloveshoo* or *Cliff* in 800 under *The Synod* *Adelard* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was conven'd for the *of Cloveshoo* Recovery of certain Church Lands usurp'd by the Kings *800* of *Mercia*.

Three Years after, another *Council* was held at the same *Another at* Place wherein, according to Pope *Leo's* Constitution, and *the same* with the Consent of *Cenulph* King of *Mercia*, the Arch- *Place* bishoprick of *Lichfield* was reduc'd to a Bishoprick, as it *803* had been formerly.

In 816, *Wilfrid* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, summon'd *The Council* Council at *Calcuith*, at which *Cenulph* King of *Mercia* *of Calcuith* and *Monarch*, was present, with all the *English* Bishops except those of *Northumberland*. There are eleven *Canons* *816*

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\* *Dilberch* Bishop *Augustadensis* (or *Hagulfstadenfis*) *Ecclesia* signs before *Eanbald* his Metropolitan of *York*.



drawn up by this *Synod*, whereof the II<sup>d</sup> and V<sup>th</sup> seem to me to be the most remarkable.

The II<sup>d</sup> orders all Churches to be consecrated by the Bishop of the *Diocese*, with the following *Formalities*. The Bishop shall bless the *Holy Water* and sprinkle the Church with it, according to the Directions of the *Ritual*. Then having consecrated the *Eucharist*, he shall put it in a *Box* with some *Relicks* to be laid up in the Church. In case there are no *Relicks*, the consecrated *Elements*, being the *Body* and *Blood* of our Lord, shall be sufficient. Every Bishop shall be oblig'd to have drawn upon the *Altar* or upon the Wall, the *Figure* of the *Saint* to whom the Church is dedicated.

The V<sup>th</sup> declares against allowing any *Scotch Man* to baptise or read *Divine Service* in *England*.

There is mention of two *Councils* more conven'd in *Mercia* in the Reign of *Bernulph*, one in 822, and the other in 824. In all appearance, the first is all a Forgery: but they are both of so little Consequence, as not worth taking Notice of.

### *Reflections on the Primitive State of the* ENGLISH CHURCH.

I shall close my Account of the *Primitive State* of the *English Church*, with a few Remarks that may serve to give a just Notion of the Thing. That Person will be mightily mistaken, who imagines the *Primitive Church* of the *English* corresponded in all Points with the Church founded by the *Apostles* immediately after our Saviour's Death. The *Christian Church*, in her *Infancy*, was perfect, without *Spot* or *Wrinkle*; but in Process of Time, she lost by Degrees some Thing of her *primitive Purity*. From the Days of the *Apostles* to the VII<sup>th</sup> Century, *Errors* and *Abuses* had crept in, which strangely disfigur'd her, and which daily encreased during the VIII<sup>th</sup> and IX<sup>th</sup> Centuries, so that *True Religion* by little and little degene-

degenerated into *Superstition*. Our *Idea* therefore of the *primitive Church of England* must be conformable to the State of the *Christian Church* at that Time. I shall not here undertake to show, wherein those *Innovations* in the *Doctrines* and *Service* of the Church consisted; but content my self with observing, the *Christian Church*, at the Time of the Conversion of the *English*, was far gone from its *original Purity*. It can't, for instance, be denied, but the *Monks*, who were grown exceeding numerous all over *Christendom*, had introduc'd several *Religious Practices* that were not of *Divine* or *Apostolical* Institution, as if our Saviour and his Apostles had forgot or neglected to give Mankind *full Instructions* in these Matters. These *voluntary Acts* of Devotion, tho' introduc'd with a good Design, were already carried to so great a Height, that the generality of Christians look'd upon them as the *Life* and *Soul* of Religion. I shall not insist any farther on this Subject, since I have no Design to enter into the Controversy, but only to make this observation, That the *English* converted in the *VIIth Century*, are to be consider'd as in the same *State* with the rest of the *Christian World* at that Time, seeing it was not in their Power to know *More* than their *Masters* taught Them.

*Austin* and his Companions were the first that preach'd the *Gospel* to the *Anglo-Saxons*. However the Honour of their Conversion ought not to be attributed to them *alone*. The *Scotch Monks* of *St. Columba* had at least as great a share in it as the *Italians*. For after these Last had begun to make *Converts*, the *New Christians* being sunk again into Idolatry, the *Scotch Monks* were the Persons that put them to Rights again, or rather that converted them *anew*. This was the Case in the Kingdoms of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, and *East-Anglia*, as hath been related. As for the Conversion of the *Mercians*, the *Italian Missionaries* had no Hand in it at all. And yet *Austin* has run away with the Honor of converting the *English*, when in the Main the Progress he made was not very considerable. 'Tis true he preach'd to the *Saxons of Kent*, as *Melitus* did to Those of *Essex*, and that with

Ep. l. 5.  
c. 58. &  
159.

with good Success. But then it is very probable, this Work was already begun, and even in great forwardness, when *Austin* arriv'd in *England*. It is hard to conceive, how these Monks, who were fain to make use of *Interpreters*, cou'd possibly have converted such great Numbers of *Pagans*, even to the baptising ten thousand in one day, in a few Months after their Arrival, if the *Saxons* had not been prepar'd before-hand. This Conjecture is farther confirm'd by the Letters of *Gregory I.* to *Theodorick* King of *Austrasia*, to *Theodobert* his Brother, and to Queen *Brunichild*, to desire them to assist *Austin* in his Journey to *England*. The Pope tells them, he was inform'd for certain that the *English* earnestly desir'd to turn *Christians*. Now is it not evident, if they were so very willing to embrace the Gospel, that they were as good as half converted? There is great reason to presume, King *Ethelbert* had already some Liking to the *Christian Religion* infus'd into him by his Queen, and especially by *Luidhard*, Bishop of the *Soissons*, who had attended her into *England*. This is what the Author of the *History of St. Austin's Monastery*, positively affirms; and *Malmshury* says little less when he tells us, that *Ethelbert* was very desirous to hear what *Austin* had to propose to him. Besides, if one considers the Person, Character and Conduct of *Austin*, one shall hardly be perswaded, he made that Progress he is said to do. *Bede*, who does not seem willing to lessen his Reputation, however says Nothing that is very apt to raise in us an Esteem for his *Preaching*. Instead of embellishing his History with the principal Heads of *Austin's* first Discourse before *Ethelbert*, he is contented with relating only the King's Answer. This makes it shrewdly suspected, he was not over-satisfied with that *Harangue*. Moreover, the Questions *Austin* wanted the Pope to resolve him in, give us no great Notion of his Parts. This, no doubt was the reason why *Bede* abridg'd them as much as was possible, even to the rendring them sometimes so obscure, that the Meaning of them is not to be come at but by the Answer.

To



To these Considerations may be added, that *Austin* in the Height of his Success, for which he is so greatly honor'd, establish'd but two Bishops only, *Justus* at *Rochester*, and *Mellitus* at *London*, tho' the Pope had expressly order'd him to settle Bishops wherever there shou'd be occasion for Them. This is a clear Evidence, that the Progress ascrib'd to him was not so considerable as *Gregory* imagin'd. But what can one think of this same *Austin*, who, the very first Year, deserts his *Mission*, and goes to *Arles* to get himself consecrated an Archbishop, when as yet there was but a handful of Christians in *England*, or rather in the alone Kingdom of *Kent*? To what End the Title of *Archbishop* and *Primate*, at a time when there was not so much as one Bishop in Being? What can one think moreover of the Pope's Answer to him concerning the Bishops of *Gaul*, *That he allows him no Manner of Jurisdiction over them*? Mayn't it be presum'd, that *Austin*, not content with the *Primacy* of *Great-Britain* wherewith the Pope had honor'd him, wanted to extend his Jurisdiction over *Gaul* too? In fine, what can one think of *Gregory's* Letter to him, wherein he exhorts him not to be elated at the *Gift of Miracles* God had bestow'd on him, unless *Austin* had sent him word he had wrought several? But what were these Miracles? Wou'd *Bede*, who has carefully related Those of *Aidan*, *Finan*, *Furseus*, and the other *Scotch* Monks, whom he look'd upon as *Sichismatics*, have forgot *Austin's*? and yet he gives us only *one*, and *that* of a *later* Date than *Gregory's* Letter, and the most suspicious that ever was, since by the Confession of the same Historian, it was wrought in order to bring over the *Britons* to the obedience of the *Pope*? What Opinion can one have of *Austin*, when one considers with what Zeal he labour'd to reduce the *Britons* under the Jurisdiction of the *See of Rome*, whilst five *Saxon* Kingdoms were suffer'd to grovel in *Darkness* and *Idolatry*? To what purpose did he complain to the Pope of the want of *Labourers* in so plentiful an *Harvest*, if he sat not Those at work he already had? If he did employ Them, where are the Fruits of their Labours?

Labours? What were their Names? Where did they preach the Gospel? No Historian says a word of these Things; and except *Justus* and *Mellitus*, who preach'd at *Rocheſter* and *London*, it is not known where he ſent his Companions, who, according to the general opinion, were 40 in Number.

Again, the *Converts* made by theſe *Italian Monks* were not, 'tis to be fear'd, well grounded in their Religion. This is a *natural* Inference from the *Falling off* of the People of *Esſex*, *East-Anglia*, *Northumberland*, and *Kent* itſelf, at a time when, had they been *true* Chriſtians, they wou'd have given Marks of the *Higheſt Zeal*. This makes one think, that their *Conversion* was without any *Previous* Inſtruction, and rather the Effect of their *Fear* of, or *Complaiſance* to, their Kings, than of a *Thorough* Perſwaſion and Knowledge of the Truth. It is therefore ſurprizingly ſtrange, that the *Conversion* of the *Engliſh* ſhou'd be aſcrib'd to *Auſtin*, rather than to *Aidan*, to *Finan*, to *Colman*, to *Cedd*, to *Diuma* and the other *Scotch Monks*, who undoubtedly labour'd much more abundantly than he did. But here lies the Caſe, Theſe *Laſt* had not their *Orders* from *Rome*, and therefore we can't bring our ſelves to allow them any *Share* of the Glory of this Work.

Let us now reflect a little on the *Manner* of the *Conversion* of the *Engliſh*. In the Beginning of *Chriſtianity*, and even for 300 Years, the *Fiſt Converts* generally conſiſted of People of the *loweſt* Rank, and we hear of nothing but *Perſecution* and *Death* from the Princes and Magiſtrates. Whereas in *England*, the Kings were they that *fiſt* embrac'd the *Faith*, and by their *Authority* and *Example* brought over their Subjects. In the Beginning of the Church of *England*, we meet with no *Martyrs*, except the two Sons of *Wulpher*, King of *Mercia*, whoſe Story is of very doubtful Authority. Whence cou'd proceed this Difference between the Church founded by the *Apoſtles* themſelves, in ſo many Parts of the World, and That founded in *England* in the VIIth Century? What is the reaſon the *Devil* leſs vigorouſly obſtructed the *Conversion* of the *Engliſh*, than That of ſo many other Nations,



Nations; during the Life and after the Death of the *Apostles*? These Things afford Matter for many Reflections, which I shall not here enter into, but leave to the Consideration of the Reader. I shall only remark, that the *Ease* wherewith the *Conversion* of the *English* was brought about, takes off a great deal of the Force of the Argument drawn in favour of the *Christian Religion*, from the Persecutions of the *Roman Emperor*.

Let a man consider, says a famous Writer, the *Establishment of Christianity*, that a Religion so contrary to Nature \*, *Perseés de Pasch.* shou'd have made its Way in the World, by such mild and gentle Means, without any violence or constraint, and yet shou'd be so firmly rooted withal, that it was not in the Power of the most barbarous Torments to compell the Martyrs to renounce their Faith; and that all This shou'd be done not only without the Assistance of any Prince, but in direct opposition to all the Kings of the Earth, &c. It is easy to see, this Argument loses much of its Force when applied to the Conversion of the *English*.

What still affords further Matter for our Wonder is This: The *Ecclesiastical History* speaks of several *Saints* in different Parts of the World; but at the same Time tells us, that scarce one of them escap'd being terribly persecuted, or even losing his Life in the Cause of Truth. Whereas in *England* alone, we find in the Space of 200 Years an incredible Number of *Men* and *Women* Saints, who never knew what *Persecution* meant. Moreover, if Historians may be credited, These *Saints*, for the most Part, were endu'd with the Gift of Miracles, tho' the swift Progress of the Gospel seem'd to render them of little use. But what is more: a considerable Number of these same *Saints* were *Kings, Queens, Princes, Princesses*, or Persons of the Highest Birth and Stations. In the *Period* above mention'd we have seven Kings and seven Queens, together with

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eight

\* This by the by supposes the *Christian Religion* in its primitive state to be clog'd with all those *Absurdities* it now labours under, particularly among the *Romanists*. For surely nothing worse can be said of *Reveal'd Religion*, than that it is contrary to *Nature, Sense, or Reason*.



eight Princes, and Sixteen Princesses, distinguish'd with the Title of *Saints*: Besides ten Kings and eleven Queens, who resign'd their *Crowns* to turn *Monks*, and who, according to the Notions of those Days, might well be rank'd in the Number of the *Saints*. If it be ask'd, whence is it that in the VII and VIII *Centuries* it was so easy for the *Great* to procure a *Saintship*, I can alledge no other Reason, but that *Sanctity* consisted then in enriching the *Churches* and *Monasteries*, which the *Rich* were much better able to do than the *Poor*.

The *English* were no sooner converted, but innumerable Miracles were wrought among them. They were so much in vogue during the two foremention'd *Centuries*, that one or other happen'd (if I may so say) every day. *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History is full of them; for he was exceeding credulous in such Matters, as well as *Gregory I.* whose *Foible* in that Respect is visible in his Works. It is no wonder therefore the *Missionaries* he sent into *England* shou'd take after him, or that the *English* shou'd be as easy of Belief as their Teachers. The *Benedictin* Monks were the Persons that set all these Miracles on foot, Some out of pure simplicity, Others with a Design to attract to the *Monasteries* the Liberalities both of *High* and *Low*. Before these were spread over the Island, the Monks of *St. Columba*, less given to Gain and worldly Views, attended wholly to the Service of God in the Places where they liv'd in common. But the *Benedictins* never rested till they had procur'd great Numbers of *Monasteries* with large Revenues, and got the *Papal Authority* recognis'd throughout the *Seven Kingdoms*.

It was not however without great Difficulty that the Popes extended their Jurisdiction over the *Northumbrians*, *Picts* and *Scots*, tho' the *Roman Priests* and *Monks* labour'd at it incessantly. The *Northern Nations* cou'd not conceive the Necessity of owning the Bishop of *Rome* for *Universal Bishop*; and it is certain, before the *Synod of Whitby*, the *Britons*, *Picts*, *Scots*, *Irish* and *Northumbrians* unanimously declar'd against the Pope's Authority. *Bede* says as much, when he tells us, speaking of King *Os*

He was at length convinc'd, that the Church of Rome was the true Catholick and Apostolical Church, tho' he had been educated in Scotland. As soon as this Prince was perswaded of This, he did all he cou'd to establish the *Papal Authority* in his Dominions; and Scotland at last was carried away with the Torrent, after Egbert an English Priest had brought over the Monks of *Fona*.

Upon the English submitting to the Jurisdiction of the Pope, all imaginable Care was taken to make sure of them. One of the most effectual Means made use of for that Purpose, was the not admitting into the Government of the Church any but *Italian* Priests or Monks, or *English* ones that had been educated at *Rome* or in *France*. This is evident from the Vth Canon of the Second Council at *Calcuith*, which forbids the allowing any *Scotch* Man to perform *Divine Service* in *England*. *Bede* plainly discovers the Policy of *Rome*, when he says, the Pope order'd Abbot *Adrian* to attend *Theodore* into *England*, that he might have an Eye over him, for fear that Prelate, being a native of *Cilicia*, shou'd introduce in the Church of *England* any Thing contrary to the Customs of *Rome*.

I have but one Remark more to make relating to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in the VIIth and VIIIth Centuries and Beginning of the IXth. It is a great mistake to think the *Articles of Faith* in the *English* Church were the same with *Those* in the *Roman* at this Day. For Instance, it wou'd be very wrong to imagine the *English* believ'd, at that Time, the absolute Necessity of *Baptism* as the *Romans* do at this present. If this Doctrine had been receiv'd among them, the Council of *Calcuith* wou'd not have order'd that *Sacrament* to be administred only at *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*. As far from the Truth is it to believe the *English* worshipp'd *Images*. The contrary is evident from a Letter the famous *Alcuin* an *Englishman* wrote to *Charles the Great* concerning the 2d Council of *Nice*, where *Image-Worship* was carried to a monstrous Height. The Necessity of Priests living single is also a Doctrine unknown to the Church of *England* in those days, since it was not receiv'd there till at least 500 Years after



after their Conversion. To these I might add several other Instances; but as they are not peculiar to *England*, I shall only observe in general, that all the *Innovations* in the *Doctrines* of the *Church of England*, from the *Conversion* of the *English* to the *Reformation*, owe their original to *Rome*.

I don't find the *Church of England* had any Thing to do in the Controversies that were on Foot in the *Church* during VII and VIII *Centuries*. Among all the *Councils* conven'd in *England* within that space, not one decreed any Thing relating to the *Doctrines* of Religion, except the *Synod of Calcuith*, where the condemning the *Monothelites* was ratified. Their Way was to read the *Canons* of the *General Councils*, and agree to Them. Thus during these two *Centuries*, it does not appear that the *Church of England* was troubled with *Heresies* or Disputes on the *Fundamental Doctrines* of Religion. In those Days, the *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Monks* were more intent upon the *Ways* and *Means* of augmenting their *Revenues*, than upon the *Study* of *Divinity*. There were some also that were distinguish'd for the *Holiness* of their Lives, or for their *Zeal* in propagating the *Gospel*. I have already mention'd some few; but as I had not an opportunity of making them all known, I shall here subjoin a brief account of three or four that make a considerable Figure in the *Ecclesiastical History* of *England* \*.

Egbert,

\* As I design to take notice of all the *Historians* omitted by *Rapin*, I shall here begin with *Nennius*, Abbot of *Bangor*, suppos'd to be one of the 50 Monks that escap'd when 1200 of their Brethren were slain by *Adelfrid* King of *Northumberland*. He flourish'd about the Year 620; tho' it is said in the best Copies of his Book, that he wrote in 858. in 24<sup>o</sup> *Mervini Regis*. There is nothing publish'd of his, but his *Historia Britonum*. Next after him comes *Bede*, who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* of *England* from *Julius Caesar's* Invasion to the Year of our Lord 731, at the Request of *Ceoluph* King of *Northumberland*, to whom it is dedicated. He was born in 673, in the Precincts of the Monastery of *Farrow* near the Mouth of the *Tine* in *Northumberland*. He was bred up from his Childhood in the said Monastery, where he liv'd all his life. He was ordain'd at 19 a *Deacon*, and at 30 a *Priest*; from which time till the 59th of his Age he never ceas'd writing. His Works are printed in eight *Tomes* besides his *Opuscula*. He died in 735, aged 62. His Body was remov'd from *Farrow* do *Durham*, and plac'd in the same Coffin with *St. Cuthbert's*.



*Egbert*, an *English* Priest, having retir'd into *Ireland* to follow his *Studies*, went over some time after into *Scotland*, where he prevail'd upon the Monks of *Fona* to receive the *Rules* of the Order of *St. Benedict*, and acknowledge the *Papal Authority*. Perhaps to this Piece of *Service* done the *See of Rome*, a good part of the *Encomiums* bestow'd upon him are owing. However this be, it is said that having a Design to go and preach the Gospel to the *German-Saxons*, he was diverted from his Purpose by an express Order from *Heaven*. However as he had the Conversion of that Nation very much at Heart, he pitch'd upon *Wilbrod* to go in his Place.

*Egbert.*  
716.

*Wilbrod* being arriv'd in *Germany*, *Pipin*, Mayor of the Palace of *France*, sent him into *Friesland*, which he had lately subdu'd, to preach the Gospel. After he had made some Stay there, he took a Journey to *Rome*, where he was consecrated by Pope *Sergius I.* Bishop of the *Frieslanders*. He fix'd his *See* at *Utrecht*, of which he was the first Bishop.

692.  
*Wilbrod.*

*Winfred*, an *English Benedictin* Monk, was sent into *Germany*, where he assum'd the Name of *Boniface*. His Preaching having met with great Success, he was made the first Archbishop of *Mentz* and the Pope's Legate for all *Germany*. It is said he was the Son of a Cart-wright, and that the Archbishops of *Mentz* for that reason bear *Wheels* in their *Arms*. *Boniface* was barbarously murder'd by the *Pagans* in *Friesland* in 754 \*.

*Winfred.*

754.

*Guthlack* \* was the first *Anchoret* in *England*. He made choice, for his Retirement, of a Fenny-Place in *Mercia*,

*Guthlack.*  
714.

\* *Pitts* says, he was of Royal Extraction. There is a Collection of his Letters extant, particularly his Letter to *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia*, publish'd at *Mentz* by *Sorvarius*. Du Pin. cent. VIII.

\* He had been a Soldier seven Years, and out of Humanity us'd to return the Enemy a Third Part of the Plunder taken from them.

*Mercia, call'd Croyland, where the famous Monastery of that Name was afterwards built \*.*

\* In the VIIIth Century liv'd *Alcuin* or *Albin* a famous *Northumbrian*. He was bred a *Benedictin*, and was made Abbot of *St. Augustin's Canterbury*. He was Disciple to *Egbert* Archbishop of *York*. Being sent Ambassador by *Offa* to *Charles the Great*, that Prince got leave for him to stay at his Court: and was taught by him *Logick*, *Astronomy*, and *Mathematicks*. By his Perswasion the Emperor founded the University of *Paris*, and likewise of *Pavia*. He wrote a great many Books, as says *Pirr*. He died in 804.

### *The End of B O O K III.*







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# THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

## BOOK IV.

*Origin of the Danes. Their continual Irruptions from the Reign of Egbert to Edward the Martyr, with whose Reign this Book concludes. A Particular and curious Account of the Laws and Customs introduced by Alfred the Great, which are the Basis of the present Laws of England. The State of the Church and Religion from Egbert to Edward the Martyr inclusive.*



NE wou'd have thought, that *England*, by the Union of the *Seven Kingdoms*, had been more secure than ever from *Foreign Invasions*. And yet, soon after this *Union*, the *Danes* began their *Descents* with a Fury, equal to *That* wherewith the *English* themselves had formerly attack'd the *Britons*. For above 200 Years these *New Enemies* never ceas'd their Attempts upon this *Island*, so that it can't be conceiv'd, how either their *Country* cou'd supply them with *Troops* sufficient for so long and bloody a *War*, or how the *English* cou'd hold out against so many reiterated *Attacks*. Before I enter upon *Particulars*, it will be necessary to premise some *Account* of these *Danes*, who in the *IXth Century* became so formidable to all *Europe*, and particularly to *England*.

*Scandia*

Origin of  
the Danes.

*Scandia* or *Scandinavia* \*, situated in the *North* Parts of *Europe*, contains a Tract of Land in Length from *North* to *South* about 960, and in Breadth from *East* to *West* about 360 Miles. If the *Northern* Historians are to be credited in what they say of the *Origin* of their Ancestors, This Country was peopled, not long after the Flood, by two Nations, or rather two Branches of the same Nation, I mean, the *Goths* and *Swedes*, who founded two large Kingdoms in this Part of the World. From these two Nations, who were sometimes united, and sometimes divided, sprung, as they say, all those *Colonies* which after the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, over-ran the Rest of *Europe*. But without staying to examine whether what they related of the Conquests of these Adventurers is built on good Authority, I shall take them for my Guides in what they tell us of Those that remain'd in the *Northern* Countries.

Janus  
Kelding.

In the Reign of *Erick* the sixth King of the *Goths* (a), *Goth-land* was become so exceeding populous, that the Country was unable to maintain its Inhabitants. To remedy this Inconvenience, which every day grew worse, *Erick* was compell'd to send off Part of his Subjects to seek their Fortune in the neighboring Isles \*. These Colonies at length not only peopled the Islands, but also *Futland* on the *Continent*, formerly known by the Name of *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. The People thus spread over the *Isles* and the *Chersonese*, acknowledg'd for above 700 Years the Kings of *Goth-land* for their Sovereigns. *Hummel* the sixteenth King of the *Goths*, made them independent, by letting them have for their King, *Dan* his Son, from

\* Contain'd *Norway*, with as much of *Sweden* as lay *West* of the *Golf* of *Bothnia*. It was call'd also *Baltia*, whence the *Baltick-Sea*.

(a) They pretend he was Cotemporary with *Terah*, *Abraham's* Father.

\* As in those Days none had a permanent Interest in Land, which was canton'd out to the People to be possess'd for one Year only, it was decided by Lot, who were to leave their Country to go in quest of New Habitations. *Cas. de Bel. Gal. l. 6. c. 20.* & *P. Warnfrid. de Gestis Longobard. c. 2.*



from whom *Denmark* receiv'd its Name (b). *Norway* also in all probability was peopled by *Gothick* Colonies, since it remain'd for a long while under the Dominion of the Kings of *Goth-land*. In Procel's of Time, and after many Revolutions, *Norway* was govern'd by Judges independent of *Goth-land*, till towards the End of the IXth Century, it became subject to a King.

Suaningius  
Chron.  
Dan.

The *Danes* and *Norwegians*, being thus separated from their Ancestors the *Goths* and *Swedes*, became so powerful, as to be in a Condition to make head against them both in several Wars. The situation of their Country, and the great Plenty of all Things necessary for the building and equipping a Fleet, soon made them become *Masters* at Sea. In time, they employ'd all their *Naval* Forces in plundering Ships, and ravaging the Coasts of *Europe*. *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries* were the most expos'd to their Robberies. For above 500 Years, nothing was to be seen at Sea but the *Danish* Pyrates. They became so powerful, that *Charles the Great* cou'd never subdue the *Saxons*, whilst assisted by the *Danes*. History observes, that the Emperor having sent *Pepin* his Son to make War against the *Saxons*, the Prince was prevented in his Designs, by *Gothrick* King of *Denmark's* sending a reinforcement of *Danes* on board 300 Vessels. A *Northern* Historian affirms, that *Charles the Great* was never better pleas'd, than at the news of *Gothrick's* Death, having despair'd of accomplishing his Ends, as long as that Prince was alive.

Meursius  
Hist. Dan.

Jo. Magnus,  
l. 17. c. 1.

As People encrease and multiply exceedingly in cold Countries, it often happen'd that *Denmark* and *Norway* were over-stock'd with Inhabitants, and therefore forc'd, in order to make Room for the Rest, to send off large Colonies. Their natural Inclination to a *Sea-faring* Life made these Colonies readily abandon their Country, as having by that means a greater Liberty of roving and playing the Pirate, on pretence of looking out for new Habitations, This

P p

was

(b) *Dan*, according to *Northern* Historians, was Cotemporary with *Gideon*.

was chiefly the Rife of those *Pyrratical* Robberies committed by the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, in the IXth Century, in *France*, *England*, the *Low-Countries* and *Germany*. The great Booty the first Adventurers brought off, tempted the Richest and most Powerful of their Countrymen to try their Fortune in the same Manner. They enter'd into *Associations* and fitted out Fleets to go and ravage foreign Countries. These Associations were much of the same Nature with those enter'd into now adays, in time of War, by the Inhabitants of the Sea-Port Towns in *France*, and *Flanders*, and always by the *Corfsairs* of *Barbary*. At length they were so us'd to this gainful Way of Trading, that very large Fleets were put to Sea. They had the Authority of their Kings for what they did, who, having always a Share in the Spoils, provided them with Admirals and Generals, and when a considerable Booty was in View, made no Scruple to command them in Person. These are the Fleets that made such Devastations in several Parts of *Europe*, and caus'd the Inhabitants of *France*, *England* and the *Low-Countries* to make sad Lamentation for the Miseries brought upon them by the *Northern* Nations (a). They were call'd in *France*, *Normans* (i. e.) *Men of the North*; but in *England*, they were generally stil'd *Danes* or *Goths*. There is no Doubt but the *Swedes* and *Goths* very often join'd with the *Danes*, in order to go shares in the Booty. It appears that even the *Frieslanders* were concern'd with the *Danes* in ravaging the Coasts of *France* and *England*. This doubtless is the Reason the *Englisch* Historians call them indifferently, *Getes*, *Goths*, *Futes*, *Norwegians*, *Dacians*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Vandals*, *Frieslanders*, their Armies being compos'd of these several Nations.

It is easy to see, from what has been said of the *Danes*, that their Intent, when first they invaded the Coasts of *England*, was only to plunder. And therefore they made War, not like regular Troops, with some fix'd and settled Design, but like *Pyrates*, sacking and destroying what

(a) A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine.



what they cou'd not carry off. As they were divided into several Independent Bands, it frequently happen'd that no sooner was *One* gone, but *Another* came; by which Means the Inhabitants had scarce any Respite from their Incurfions. This way of making War was very inconvenient for the *English*, it obliging them to be upon their Guard at all Times and in all Places, since the Island was liable to be attack'd on every Side. On the other hand, their Enemies, whose Numbers were continually increasing, being headed by Leaders who had no Authority over one another, there was no entring into a Treaty with them, one *Band* not looking upon it self bound by what another did. Thus the *English* having Nothing to gain but Much to lose, were at a loss what Measures to take against their Enemies, who carried Desolation wherever they came. I am very sensible the *Danish* Historians set these Matters in quite another Light. They express the Advantages the *Danes* had over the *English* in their first Incurfions, by the Name of *Conquests*, and stile the Struggles of the *English* to free themselves from Oppression, a revolting. But notwithstanding their giving Things these *specious* Names, their Advantages are to be consider'd as before represented, at least for the first hundred Years after they began their Ravages.

Sax. Gram.  
Magnus,  
Jornandez,  
Meursius,  
Pontanus.

Before I leave this Subject it will be proper to remark, that the *English* and *Danish* Historians give very contradictory Accounts of these Wars. Each endeavours to the utmost of his Power, to enhance the Advantages of his own Nation, and cry down those of the opposite Party. However it is but too visible that the *Danes* cou'd not have got such Footing in *England*, had not Victory been generally on their Side. But this is not All wherein Historians are not agreed. They differ chiefly in *Chronological* Matters, and in the Names of the Persons of whom they are speaking, which must of necessity breed the greatest Confusion in History.

Thro' the midst of all these Difficulties am I oblig'd to steer my Course, with all imaginable Circumspection and Wariness, lest I shou'd be put to a stand by the Obstacles



that every Moment occur. If my Reader don't find that Connection, and those other Embellishments they cou'd wish for, it must be remember'd, that the Narration of a War, carried on for the sake of Plunder only, is hardly capable of Connection or Embellishment.

After these Remarks, which seem'd to me necessary for the better understanding of the Sequel, it is time to return to the Reign of *Egbert*, which was left unfinish'd in the foregoing Book, where he appear'd only as King of *Wessex*. He is now to make his Appearance as King of all *England*, and as real Monarch of the seven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*.

## E G B E R T.

*EGBERT*  
1<sup>st</sup>. King of  
England.  
828.  
*Tyrrel.*

**E**GBERT, who began his Reign over the *West-Saxons* in 800, finish'd not his Conquest till 827 or 828, from which Time his Title of *King of England* is to be dated. But to avoid Mistakes, it must be remembred, that the Kingdom this Prince was in actual Possession of as his own, consisted of the antient Kingdoms of *Wessex*, *Sussex*, *Kent*, and *Essex*, that had been peopled by *Saxons* and *Jutes*. As for the other three Kingdoms, whose Inhabitants were *Angles*, he was contented with reserving the Sovereignty over Them, permitting them to be govern'd by Kings who were his Vassals and Tributaries.

It has been related, how this Prince, before he turn'd his Arms against his Countrymen, attack'd and subdued the *Britons* of *Cornwal* and *Wales*. Tho' his Power, after that, was exceedingly encreas'd, yet the *Welsh* by their Proceedings plainly show'd, they design'd to shake off their Yoke. *Egbert*, inform'd of their Intent, gave them no time to put it in Execution. He march'd into their Country with so numerous an Army, that they were forc'd to submit, without offering to come to a Battle.

*The Danes*  
make a De-  
scend.

Whilst *Egbert* was enjoying the Fruits of his Victories, the *Danes*, who had before, at different Times, made two Descents

Descents on *England*, arriv'd at *Charmouth* \* with 35 Vessels. As they met with no Opposition, they fell to ravaging the Country. *Egbert*, upon the first News of this Descent, march'd against them with what Troops he cou'd hastily draw together, verily believing at his Approach they would repair to their Ships; which tho' he found they did not do, but on the contrary firmly stood their Ground, yet he resolv'd to attack them. But he soon experienc'd he had to do with much more formidable Enemies than he imagin'd. After a long and bloody Battle, he had the Vexation to behold them victorious, and his own Army entirely routed. They press'd so hard upon him, that he was fain at length to follow his flying Troops, being indebted to the darkness of the Night for his very Life. This being a great Mortification to a Prince, who till then had always been victorious, it put him upon other Measures for his Defence against these new Invaders. In the mean time the *Danes*, having no Design to make Conquests, were satisfied with plundering the Country, and return'd to their Ships.

833.  
*An. Sax.*  
\* Dorsetshire.

*Egbert*  
worsted by  
the *Danes*.

Two Years after, another Band of *Danish* Pyrates, having been inform'd by their Spies, that the *Cornish* Britons were extremely desirous of throwing off the Yoke of the *English*, went and landed in their Territories, where they were receiv'd with Joy. After they had been reinforc'd with some *British* Troops, they began their March in order to give the *English* Monarch Battle. They were in hopes of coming upon him unawares: but they were surpriz'd to hear he was marching directly towards them with the same Design. His former Misfortune having made him more cautious, he had kept his Army in a readiness to march upon the first Notice of their Arrival. Accordingly upon his being inform'd they were landed in the *West*, he march'd his whole Army thither with all Expedition. He engag'd them near *Hengist-dun* \* in *Cornwal*, and obtain'd a signal Victory, which quite wiped out the Disgrace of his former Defeat.

*The Danes*  
make another  
Descent.  
835.

*Egbert*  
gains a  
great Victory.

\* *Hengston-Hill.*

After this fortunate Blow, which deliver'd the *English* for a little while from the Invasions of the *Danes*,

we



Egbert  
confirms the  
changing  
the Name  
of Britain  
into that  
of England.

\* p. 142.

Jo. Sarish.

we meet but with one remarkable Particular in *Egbert's* Reign. It is said that this Prince, by a publick Edict consented to by the general Assembly of the Nation, order'd, That for the future the Name of *England* shou'd be given to so much of *Great-Britain* as had been conquer'd by the *Anglo-Saxons*, and erected into seven Kingdoms. But it is very probable he only confirm'd or reviv'd this Name, which certainly bears Date before the Reign of *Egbert*. We find in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, that the three Nations, settled in *Great-Britain*, are indifferently call'd *Angli* or *Englisc*. And *Bede* himself, who wrote long before *Egbert's* Time, gives his History the Title of *the Ecclesiastical History of the Englisc Nation*, though it much more relates to the Churches of *Kent*, *Wessex*, *Sussex* and *Essex*, than to those of *Mercia*, *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*. I have already noted \*, that the change of the Name of *Britain* into that of *England*, ought to be carry'd back to the Year 585 or 586. In Confirmation of which, and that *Egbert* was not, in all Appearance, the Author of this Change, I shall alledge the following Proofs, which seem to me very strong. In the first Place, *Egbert* had no reason to call the seven Kingdoms, *England*, since he himself was a *Saxon*, and the Provinces his own Kingdom consisted of were peopled with *Saxons* and *Juttes*. Besides, the *Angls* or *Englisc*, inhabiting *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, were his Vassals and Tributaries. Now is it at all likely, that the Conqueror shou'd impose on his victorious Subjects the Name of those they had subdued? This might indeed be done insensibly, but it is not probable a Conqueror should enjoin it by an Edict: But as this amounts to no more than Conjecture, I shall go on to more substantial Proofs. An Historian positively affirms, that a little after the founding of the seven Kingdoms, the Name of *England* was given to *Britain* by the unanimous Consent of the seven Kings. But this can by no means be applied to the Time of *Egbert* (above 250 Years after) since that Prince cou'd not have publish'd his Edict till after the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*. Besides



Besides, how came *Bede*, who liv'd 150 Years before *Egbert*, to call the three Nations settled in *Britain*, *Englishmen*, if that Monarch was the Author of that Name? But what is still more convincing, though the Subjects of *Ina*, King of *Wessex*, were *Saxons* or *Futtes*, this Prince however, in his *Laws* enacted for the *West-Saxons* only, styles them *Englishmen*. If an *Englishman*, says he, *commits Theft*. Again, *If a Welsh Slave shall kill an Englishman*. Is it not plain from hence, that had not this Name been common to the three Nations, *Ina* would not have call'd his Subjects *Englishmen*, but *Saxons*? In fine, it is not at all strange that immediately after the founding the seven Kingdoms, the *Anglo-Saxons* shou'd term their Conquests, *England*, since the *Angles* were in Possession of a larger and more considerable Tract of Land than both the *Saxons* and *Futtes*. But it was not at all natural this Name shou'd be introduc'd in the Reign of *Egbert*, when the three Kingdoms of the *Angles* were gone to decay, and the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* in a flourishing Condition.

*Egbert* died in 838 (a), after he had reigned 37 Years, 20 Years as King of *Wessex* only, seven Years with the Dignity of *Monarch*, and ten Years as King of all *England*. *Redburg*, his Spouse had never assum'd the Title and Port of a *Queen*, because of the Law \* made in *Wessex*, on account of the Death of *Brithrick*. She is said to have persuaded the King to forbid the *Welsh*, on pain of Death, to come over *Offa's Dike*, the Boundary of *Mer-cia* and *Wales*.

*Egbert* left behind him but one Son, nam'd *Ethel-wulph*, who succeeded him both as King of *Wessex*, *Essex*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, and as Sovereign of the other three Kingdoms. *Egbert* had doubtless another Son, since this was design'd for the Church. A modern Author gives the Name of *Ethelbert* to *Egbert's* eldest Son; but I know not whence he had his Information. Some say he had also a Daughter, call'd *Edgith*, who founded the Abbey of *Polleworth* \*, but this is uncertain.

By

Bromp.  
Leges Inæ.  
l. 26. lex.  
78.

The Death  
of Egbert.  
838.

\* p. 213.

Rudb.  
Hist. Mo-  
nast. Win-  
chest.

Tyrrel.

\* War-  
wickshire.

(a) Some place his Death in 836, or 837.

By all that has been said of *Egbert*, it is easy to see, this Prince had all the Qualifications of a great Warrior. He accomplish'd his Ends, not by such Methods as *Hengist* and *Offa* had taken, but by the means of *Arms*; a Way that, although it be no less *Criminal*, yet tarnishes not the Reputation of him that makes use of it, especially when crown'd with Success. It is a lamentable thing, that Ambition, by which Princes are inclin'd to invade the Property of others, shou'd pass in the World for a Virtue, and that an Historian, by reason of Men's deprav'd Notions, shou'd not dare to represent it in its true Colours, since generally speaking, they are your *Ambitious* Princes that are honour'd with the Surname of *Great*.

## 2. *ETHELWULPH.*

*ETHELWULPH*

2d. King

of England.

838. An.

Sax. H.

Hunting.

4. 5.

The Danes  
land at  
Southamp-  
ton.

**E***THELWULPH*, *Egbert*'s only Son, came to the Crown after his Father's Death. Some say he was fain to have a Dispensation from the *Pope*, because he was in *Holy Orders*. But it is not likely, that after the Death of his elder Brother, *Egbert* wou'd suffer him to be bred a *Churchman*, since he had no other Son to succeed him.

*Ethelwulph* was hardly warm in his Throne, when a Fleet of *Danes* appear'd off of *Southampton*. After they had rov'd up and down for some Time, they landed and ravag'd the flat Country. *Ethelwulph*, a lover of Peace and his Ease, sent *Wulferd* his General against them, who beat them back to their Ships. But the King had not reason long to rejoice at his Victory. Before his Army return'd, News was brought him that some more *Danish* Forces, having landed at *Portland*, were plundering and destroying the Country. Altho' he had no reason to be dissatisfied with *Wulferd*, he sent *Earl Ethelhelm* to command the Army, who was shamefully beaten and put to flight. *Herbert*, the succeeding General, came off still

much



much worse, since he was not only vanquish'd, but also lost his Life in the Battle. These two Victories gave the *Danes* an Opportunity of over-running several Counties, particularly *Kent* and *Middlesex*. *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter* and *London* were terribly harraſs'd, the Enemy committing unheard-of Cruelties before they return'd to their Ships.

Some make *Witglaph* King of *Mercia* die this Year 839. Others place his Death two Years ſooner, in 837. But this Difference is of little Moment, ſeeing this Prince made but a very mean Figure after he became a Vaſſal to the King of *Weſſex*. *Berthulph* his Brother ſucceeded him.

839.

The next Year, *Ethelwulph*, not at all ſatisfied with his two laſt Generals, was reſolv'd to go in Perſon againſt a Body of *Danes* that were arriv'd in 35 Ships, and landed on the Coaſt of *Weſſex*. The two Armies engaging at *Charmouth*, the *Engliſh* were worſted, and thought themſelves happy that their Enemies after their Victory, were contented with carrying off their Booty, the only End of theſe *Daniſh* Expeditions.

840.

This Year (or as ſome ſay the Year before) was very remarkable for the entire Deſtruction of the *Picts*. After a long War with the *Scots* their Neighbours, they loſt two Battles ſucceſſively, which diſabled them from making any longer Reſiſtance. *Keneth II.* King of *Scotland*, exaſperated againſt them for having ſlain his Father, and inhumanly mangled his Corps, told the *Scots*, they ought not to let ſlip the preſent Opportunity of rooting out a Nation that had been their perpetual Enemies. His Advice was approv'd of, and put in Execution with ſuch a barbarous Fury, that from thence forward, nothing remain'd but the bare Memory of that miſerable Nation, which had ſo long flouriſh'd in *Great-Britain*. It is chiefly owing to his extirpating the *Picts*, that *Keneth II.* was look'd upon by the *Scots* as an illuſtrious Prince, and one of the Founders of their Monarchy.

Deſtruction  
of the Picts.Buchan.  
Boeth.  
Holingſh.

The *Danes* continuing their Incurſions without any Reſpite, *Ethelwulph*, who was naturally of a ſlothful Temper, thought himſelf unable to govern alone all his Do-

Q q

minions,



minions, expos'd as they were to the perpetual Insults of Foreigners. This Consideration, and perhaps his tender Affection for *Athelstan* his natural Son, made him resolve to deliver him up *Kent, Essex* and *Sussex*, with the Title of *King of Kent*, resting contented with the Sovereignty of all *England*, and the Kingdom of *Wessex*.

## *ETHELWULPH in Wessex.* *ATHELSTAN in Kent.*

841.

**A**NDRED King of *Northumberland* died in 841, and was succeeded by *Ethelred* his Son.

Sim. Du-  
nelm. M.  
Westm.

*Roderic*, surnam'd *Mawr* (i. e.) *the Great*, was then King of *Wales*. This Prince, to whom the *British* Historians give the highest Commendations, attack'd *Berthulph* King of *Mercia* with great Success. How little an Inclination soever *Ethelwulph* had for War, he found he was oblig'd to go in Person into *Mercia*, to stop the Progress of the *Welsh* Prince. He easily saw the dangerous Consequence of suffering the *Welsh* to retake any Part of the Country the *English* had conquer'd from them. So without staying to be ask'd, he went and join'd Forces with the King of *Mercia*. Whilst *Roderic* had to deal with *Berthulph* only, he imagin'd he was powerful enough to dispossess him, if not of the whole, yet at least of good Part of his Kingdom. But when he found *Ethelwulph* engag'd in the Quarrel, he desisted from his Enterprize and sued for Peace, which it was no hard Matter for him to obtain, both the Sovereign and his Vassal desiring only to live in Ease and Quiet. This same *Roderic* left three Sons, among whom he shar'd his Dominions, which by that means were divided into the three Kingdoms of *Venedotia*, *Demetia* and *Powis*.

*Ethelred*, who ascended the Throne of *Northumberland* in 841, was driven out of the Country three Years after, by one of the Factions that for a long time pre-  
vail'd

vail'd by turns in that Kingdom, and *Redowald* put in his Place. The new King being slain a little after by *M. Westm.* the *Danes*, in a Descent they made on *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* was recall'd by his Party, who were become powerful enough to support him in the Throne.

The *Danes* never fail'd of visiting *England* once a Year, purely for the sake of Plunder. In 845 the Earls *Enulph* and *Ofrick*, with Bishop *Alstan*, gave them Battle near the River *Parret* \*, and obtain'd a signal Victory, which in all appearance was the Reason the *English* were unmolested for some Years. 845. The Danes defeated. \* Somersethire.

The King of *Northumberland* reign'd but three Years after his Restoration. The opposite Party having put him to Death, a Lord nam'd *Osbert* was plac'd on the Throne. The Troubles and Divisions in that Kingdom gave the *Danes* an opportunity of frequently plundering them. Whenever they came, they were sure of being welcome to the weakest Party. Neither of the Factions made any Scruple to join with the *Danes* in order to get uppermost. Osbert King of Northumb. 848. Sim. Du-neim. Fl. Wigorn.

Whilst the *Danes* were thus employ'd in the North, the Southern Provinces enjoy'd some Respite. But at length, in 851, they landed on the Coasts of *Wessex*, where they committed horrible Cruelties. After ravaging the Country, they were met as they were returning to their Ships with their Booty, by Earl *Ceorle*, *Ethelwulph's* General, who waited for them at *Wenbury* \*. As they were incumbered with their Spoils, they fought in such Disorder that they were entirely routed. Some time after, King *Athelstan* equipping out a Fleet, fought the *Danes* near *Sandwich*, and took nine of their Ships. He cou'd not however prevent another Band of them from wintering in the Island of *Shippey*. 851. The Danes land in Wessex. \* Devonshire. Affr. Vit. Alfr.

The ill Success the *Danes* had met with, did not in the least discourage them. The Spring following, they came up the *Thames* with 300 Sail, and nothing being able to oppose them, landed near *London*, where they began their usual Ravages. The two Kings, not expecting this sudden Invasion, dar'd not to take the Field, 'till they had 852. Another Descent of the Danes.

drawn an Army together that was capable of withstanding them, which they endeavour'd to do with all possible expedition.

Whilst they were making their Preparations, the *Danes* made use of their Time to Plunder: They were not contented with ravaging the Country, but attack'd the Towns, which for the most Part not being in Condition to stand a Siege, were forc'd to open their Gates to their merciless Enemies. *London* and *Canterbury* were great Sufferers upon this Occasion. After they had pillag'd these two Cities, they march'd into *Mercia*, and overthrew an Army *Berthulph* had brought against them in Defence of his Country. Nothing opposing their Progress, they wou'd have over-run all *England*, if the News that *Ethelwulph* and *Athelstan* design'd to intercept them in their return, had not made them halt. They repass'd the *Thames*, in order to give the two Kings Battle, who were encamp'd at *Okely* in *Surry*. They committed, in their March, such Barbarities, as the very mention of them wou'd strike one with Horror. At length they engag'd the two Kings in the same Place, where they had encamp'd in expectation of the Enemy. Here a bloody Battle was fought, wherein the *English* were victorious, and made so terrible a Slaughter of the *Danes*, that very few escap'd.

Battle of  
Okely.

Buthred  
King of  
Mercia.  
Fl. Wig.  
Athelstan's  
Death.

*Berthulph* King of *Mercia*, died this Year, and was succeeded by *Buthred*, with the consent of *Ethelwulph*, whose Daughter he had married.

After the Battle of *Okely*, we hear no more of *Athelstan*, which makes it presum'd he did not long survive that great Victory, to which his Valour had not a little contributed. Altho' *Ethelwulph* had several Sons born in *Wedlock* that were old enough to assist him in the Administration of Affairs, yet he wou'd not give *Ethelbald* his eldest, *Athelstan's* Kingdom. Besides his having no great Affection for him, he dreaded his restless and turbulent Spirit. The young Prince, who thought himself no less deserving a Crown than *Athelstan* his Bastard-Brother,

Malm. l. 1.  
c. 2.



Brother, was very much disgusted at this Piece of Injustice, as he look'd upon it to be.

## ETHELWULPH alone.

**E**THELWULPH was extremely addicted to Religion, both by his natural Disposition, and also by his Education. He wou'd willingly, if they wou'd have let him, have spent whole Days together in Conversation with the Monks, whilst the *Danes* were ransacking his Kingdom in a merciless Manner. The Victory of *Okely* having procur'd him some Respite from these formidable Enemies, he was at Liberty to follow the natural Bent of his Mind. He had two Favorites, who had an equal Share in his Affection and Confidence. They were both Bishops, but of very different Characters. The first, nam'd *Swithin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was continually entertaining the King upon the Vanity of all worldly Glory, and the Joys of Heaven. The Second, call'd *Alstan*, Bishop of *Sherborn*, was not at all pleas'd with the King's giving himself up wholly to his Devotions. He cou'd have wish'd he wou'd have exerted himself more vigorously in repulsing the *Danes*, and employ'd his Time in making Preparations against their next return. To this purpose he never ceas'd animating him, by bringing to his Remembrance the *glorious Deeds* of his Ancestors, particularly of his Father *Egbert*, which made the deepest Impression upon him. He was not satisfied with stirring him up by lively Exhortations, but furnish'd him also with Money to hasten on his Warlike Preparations.

These two Prelates bore an absolute Sway over the King, who was naturally of a sluggish and slothful Temper. The one had the Ascendant in Peace, the other in War. *Alstan* kept his Ground for a long while, by reason of the frequent Invasions of the *Danes*, which robb'd the King of great Part of the Time he wou'd have set aside for his Devotions. But as soon as he found

he

Character  
of Ethel-  
wulph  
and his  
two Favo-  
rites.

H. Hunt.  
Malm. l.  
2. c. 2.

A Grant of  
the Tithes  
to the Cler-  
gy.

853.  
Alfred sent  
to Rome.  
Fl. Wig.  
After.

Tyrrel.

he was like to enjoy some quiet, he was entirely guided by the Bishop of *Winchester*. This Prelate, taking the Advantage of the King's pious Disposition, so engross'd him to himself, that *Alstan*, whose Advice was not so conformable to the King's Inclination, found he daily lost Ground. *Swithin*, all in all with the King, confirm'd him more and more in his natural *Bias* to a Religious Life. Above all he inspir'd him with an extreme Affection for the *Church* and *Clergy*, wherein the main of Religion then was made to consist. By his Advice it was, that this Prince, as is pretended, granted to the *Church* the *Tithes* of all his Dominions (a). Hitherto the Revenues of the Church were not very considerable. But by this new Grant they were encreas'd to that Degree, that *Ethelwulph's* Successors had frequent Occasion to wish he had left the *Clergy* in their former State. To his Zeal for Religion it was owing also that he sent to *Rome* his youngest Son *Alfred*, then about five Years of Age. As he had a very great Affection for this Child, he imagin'd no doubt the *Pope's Blessing* wou'd be ratified in Heaven, and procure him great Happiness. If we may believe Historians, *Leo IV.* was not contented with *Blessing* the young Prince, but gave him also the Ceremony of the *Royal Unction*. But this appears to have no Foundation, unless 'tis pretended, the *Pope* knew by *Revelation*, that *Alfred* shou'd one Day come to the Crown, tho' the youngest of four Brothers. Besides, *Alfred* had not the Title of King till long after, when the Crown was devolv'd to him by the Death of his three elder Brothers. Some will have it, supposing this *Unction* to be Matter of Fact, that the *Pope* only anointed him with *Chrism* at the Ceremony of his Confirmation, which gave occasion for some to imagine that *Alfred* receiv'd the *Royal Unction* before-hand, because he was one Day to ascend the Throne of *England*.

*Ethelwulph's*

(a) In the Laws of *Ina* and *Offa*, Tithes are settled on the *Clergy*. But in all likelihood these Laws were not observ'd, or perhaps *Ethelwulph* extended the Law all over *England*. \* This Charter is at length in the State of the Church.



*Ethelwulph's* great Zeal for Religion wou'd not let him be easy, without the Satisfaction of paying a visit to the Pope in Person and receiving his *Benediction*. As *England* was then in a profound Peace, he resolv'd upon going to *Rome*, and accordingly did so in 855. At his Arrival, *Leo* gave him an honourable Reception, and had in return all the Respect and Submission that cou'd be expected from so devout a Prince. During his stay at *Rome*, he visited the Churches, Chapels, Holy Relicks, and every Thing capable of feeding his Devotion. The *English College* founded by *Ina* and enlarg'd by *Offa*, having been burnt down [the Year before] he caus'd it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner than before. And desiring to endow the College with greater Rvenues than his Predecessors had done, extended the Tax of *Peter-pence* all over his Dominions, which till then had been levied only in *Wessex* and *Mercia*. He oblig'd himself moreover to send to *Rome* Yearly the Sum of 300 *Mancus's* [or Marks] (a), 200 whereof were to be expended in *Wax-Tapers* for the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and the remaining 100 for the *Popes* private use. These are the *Liberalities*, that gave occasion to certain Historians to assert that *Ethelwulph* made his Kingdom tributary to the *Holy See*. But, what wrong uses soever might be made of them in Time, it is certain they were no more originally than charitable Allowances to the Churches and *English College*.

855.  
He goes  
himself to  
Rome.

Sigonius  
de Reg.  
Ital.

*Ethelwulph*, having satisfied his Devotion and Curiosity, by a twelve Months stay at *Rome*, return'd Home thro' *France*, where he married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles the Bald* (b), a young Princess, of not above 12 Years of Age. This disagreeable as well as unseasonable Match, he having already several Children, was made another Pretext for the Conspiracy that was forming against him in *England*.

He marries  
Judith  
Daughter to  
Charles the  
Bald.

Whilst *Ethelwulph* was busied at *Rome* in Acts of Devotion, *Alstan* Bishop of *Sherborn*, formerly his Favorite, but, since the Loss of his Credit, his Enemy, took the

Advan-

(a) *John Brompton* is mistaken in calling them 300 Talents.

(b) She is called *Leotheta* in the *Saxon Annals*.



Ethelbald  
conspires a-  
gainst his  
Father.

The King  
returns.

Selden, Ti-  
tles of hon-  
our. c. 6.  
p. 83.

Malm. c. 2.  
c. 2.

Advantage of his Absence to seduce *Ethelbald* his Eldest Son, by way of Revenge. This young Prince, being naturally of an ill Temper, was already disgusted at his Father, for his not investing him with the Kingdom of *Kent* after *Athelstan's* Death. And therefore very readily came in to the pernicious Counsels of *Alstan*. The Prelate represented to him, that *Ethelwulph* liv'd more like a *Monk* than a *King*, and by his Negligence expos'd his Kingdom to Dangers and Ruin; that since he delighted so much in conversing with the Monks, it was fit he shou'd go and pass the residue of his Days in a Monastery, and leave his Kingdom to his Son, who knew better how to govern it. The young Prince, all on fire to possess the Crown, was stagger'd at this Discourse. As he was not found at bottom, there was no need of repeating it often in order to gain him over. The News of *Ethelwulph's* Marriage coming just in this Nick of Time, put the finishing stroke to the Matter. He thought he had reason to fear that, if there shou'd be any Children by this second Marriage, they wou'd be able to dispute with him the Succession to the Crown, by the Help of the King of *France*. These Considerations induced him to enter into a *Cabal* with the *Nobles* how to prevent the King's Return. *Alstan*, who was the Author of the Plot, did all that lay in his Power to bring over the *Nobility* and *Commonalty* to the Prince's Side, and it was not long before he had form'd a powerful Party in favour of the Prince. *Ethelwulph*, inform'd of these Proceedings, immediately left *France*, and arriv'd in *England* before his Son had taken all necessary measures to hinder his landing. However *Ethelbald* went on with his Design, and openly declar'd his Intent of dethroning his Father. As *Ethelwulph* had dignified his new Wife with the Title of *Queen*, in consideration of her Illustrious Birth, *Ethelbald* laid hold of that Pretence to colour over his Revolt. He alledg'd, that by the express Terms of the Law made upon the Account of *Britbrick's* Murder, the *West-Saxons* were absolv'd from their Oath of Allegiance to the King. All Things tended to a *Civil War*, which cou'd not but prove fatal to *England* since

since besides other Mischiefs, it wou'd undoubtedly bring on fresh Invasions from the *Danes*. But some of the wisest of the *Nobility* of both Parties, foreseeing the Calamities that wou'd ensue, by their Mediation endeavour'd to bring Matters to an Accommodation. Tho' Right and Justice were entirely on the King's side, yet he consented to peaceable Measures. But as he was old and of an easy Nature, and as his Son highly threatned his Opposers, the Balance very much inclin'd to *Ethelbald's* Side. By the Treaty, which was manag'd by the Umpires, *Ethelwulph*, was oblig'd to give up to his Son the antient Kingdom of *Wessex*, and to set down contented with That of *Kent* for himself, under which were compris'd also *Essex* and *Sussex*. Some of his Courtiers advis'd him not to sign so partial and unequal a Treaty; but he wou'd not hearken to them. He told them, he did not set so high a value on the Dominions allotted to his Son, as to purchase them at the Price of a *Civil War*, and that, altho' it might be in his Power to recover them, yet his Death wou'd soon put his Son in Possession of them again.

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*ETHELWULPH* in *Kent*.  
*ETHELBALD* in *Wessex*.

ONE wou'd think *Ethelwulph* foresaw his Death was not far off, since he out-liv'd this *Partition* but two Years, which he spent in a Manner worthy a Christian Prince, in doing Acts of Charity, in administering Justice to his Subjects, and endeavouring, by the Force of his Example, to induce them to lead lives conformable to the Precepts of the Gospel. *Ethelbald*, on the contrary, depending upon many Years to come, thought of nothing but how to spend his Days in Licentiousness and Debauchery.

The *Saxon Annals* tell us about this Time, *Edmund*, Edmund  
 a Youth about 15 Years of Age, was crown'd King of East-Ang-  
 R r East-lia.



An. Sax.  
Fl. Wig.  
J. Tin-  
mouth.  
in Sancti.

*East-Anglia.* He was Son to *Alcmund*, a Prince of the Royal Blood, who fled into *Germany*, when *Offa* seisd upon *East-Anglia*. It is not said whether this was done with the Consent of *Ethelwulph* and *Ethelbald*, or whether taking the Advantage of the Dissention between the Father and Son, they resolv'd to have a King of their own. *Edmund* was guided, during his Youth, by the Advice of Bishop *Humbert*, who took care to form him to a virtuous Life, and instill into him Sentiments of Justice and Equity, of which his Subjects reap'd the Benefit. I pass over in silence all the Miracles, that are affirm'd to have attended his Birth, and shall speak elsewhere of his Tragical End, honour'd with the Name of Martyrdom.

Ethel-  
wulph's  
Last Will.

*Ethelwulph*, finding he had not long to live, made his Will, wherein he dispos'd of his Dominions to *Ethelbert* his second Son, and after his Decease to *Ethelred* his third Son, and after him to *Alfred* his youngest. I am not sure whether it was customary then for the Kings to dispose of their Dominions by Will, or whether *Ethelwulph* was the First that did so. However this be, it is certain that *Ethelwulph*'s Sons succeeded one Another by virtue of his Will. Wherein he also order'd his Heirs to maintain one poor Person for every Tithing in his Hereditary Lands. He died \* soon after in 857, after a Reign of 20 Years (a), leaving behind him four Sons and one Daughter, who was married to *Ruthred* King of *Mercia*, and died at *Pavia* in 888. *Ethelbald*, *Ethelwulph*'s eldest Son, being already in Possession of the Kingdom of *Wessex*, *Ethelbert* his Brother had only for his Share, *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Sussex*, compris'd under the name of the Kingdom of *Kent*. As for *Ethelred*, and *Alfred*, his other Sons, they were at first but ill provided for; but in the End they both mounted the Throne. Besides *Athelstan*, spoken of before, some give *Ethelwulph* another natural Son call'd *Neor*, who was

Malm.

His Death  
857.

(a) The *Saxon Annals* allow *Ethelwulph* to have reign'd but 18 Years, and yet tell us his Father began to reign in 800, and that he reign'd 37 Years, 7 Months, and that *Ethelwulph* died in 857. \* He was buried at *Winchester* with his Father *Egbert*.



was afterwards Professor at *Oxford*. But I very much doubt whether *Neot* was his Son. It is more likely he was only his Relation, of the Blood-Royal of *Wessex*.

### 3. ETHELBALD in *Wessex*. ETHELBERT in *Kent*.

Ethelbald's Reign was remarkable neither for any Event of Moment, nor for any Action of his own, worth recording. All Historians are agreed that he was a Prince of no Merit, and of an evil Disposition. He is said by the *English* Historians to make no Scruple of marrying *Judith of France* his Father's Widow. But the *French* Writers say not a word of this Marriage. They tell us her marriage with *Ethelwulph* not being consummated by reason of her Youth, she return'd to *France*, from whence she was carried off by *Baldwin Iron-hand* Earl of *Flanders*. Perhaps they knew nothing of her second Marriage, or it may be they did not think proper to mention it, as reflecting on the Family of *Charles the Great*. But be this as it will, the *English* Historians speak of it as certain Matter of Fact. And one of them adds \*, *Ethelbald* was brought to a Sense of his Fault, by *Swithin* Bishop of *Winchester*, and underwent a severe *Penance* for it. This *Penance*, which in all appearance consisted in some *Grants* or *Donations* to the Monasteries, made an Historian \* say, He dies in  
860. His Death, which happen'd in 860, was exceedingly lamented. He had reign'd two Years in *Wessex*, during his Father's Life, and about two Years and a half after his Decease. *Ethelbert* his Brother, already in Possession of the Kingdom of *Kent*, succeeded to *Wessex*, by virtue of their Father's last Will and Testament.

R r 2

2. Ethel-

\* *Matthew of Westminster*. But *Affer*, who liv'd in those days, says no such thing. \* *Huntingdon*; who tells us he was buried at *Sherborn*.

4. *ETHELBERT*, alone.

The Danes  
return to  
England.

They burn  
Winchest-  
er.

They are re-  
puls'd.

Another  
Descent.

Ethelbert  
gives them  
Money to go  
off, which  
they take,  
and fall to  
plundering.

He dies in  
866.

\* and was  
buried at  
Sherborn.

THE Danes, having left *England* for some Years unmolested, immediately upon *Ethelbert's* Coronation renew'd their Invasions. As they had not been heard of for a good While, they were almost forgotten, and consequently, no Preparations were made to repulse their Attacks. By which means they penetrated as far as *Winchester*, the Metropolis of *Wessex*, and reduc'd the City to Ashes. They wou'd have proceeded to much greater Mischiefs, had not *Osrick* and *Ethelwulph*, two *West-Saxon* Earls, with some Troops they had drawn together, beat them back to their Ships.

Another Time, they came and landed, in Autum, in the Isle of *Thanet*, where they winter'd, in order to be in a readiness to begin their Incurfions in the Spring. *Ethelbert*, very uneasy at their being so near him, but not knowing how to help it, offer'd them a Sum of Money to go off quietly. They accepted of his Offer; but when they had finger'd the Money, they rush'd into *Kent* and destroy'd All with Fire and Sword, *Ethelbert* not being in a Condition to be revenged of them for their Treachery. However having learnt by it, that Nothing but Force cou'd rid him of his Enemies, he set about levying an Army, to intercept them in their Retreat and prevent them from carrying off their Booty. Their Dread of these Preparations made them embark with their Plunder so abruptly, that it was not possible to hinder them.

*Ethelbert's* Reign, which lasted but six Years, affords but little Matter for History. He died \* in 866, leaving two Sons, *Adhelm*, and *Ethelward*, who did not succeed him, his younger Brother *Ethelred* ascending the Throne by virtue of *Ethelwulph's* Will.

5. *Ethel-*

## 5. ETHELRED. I.

THE Reign of *Ethelred* was short and troublesome. From the Day of his Coronation, to that of his Death, he had one continu'd Conflict with the *Danes*. They began with attacking *Northumberland*, which at length they became Masters of. They proceeded next to *East-Anglia*, which they also subdu'd. And after having forc'd the *Mercians* to purchase their Ransom with a Sum of Money, they enter'd *Wessex*. Notwithstanding the Valour of *Ethelred* and the many Battels he fought, he had the Vexation at his Death to leave them in the Heart of his Kingdom, and in a condition of soon completing the Conquest of the Whole. These are the Principal Events during this Reign, the most remarkable Circumstances whereof, I am now going to relate.

The Authority *Egbert* had reserv'd over the Kingdoms of *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, and left his Son *Ethelwulph* in possession of, had been much diminish'd for some time, by reason of the frequent Invasions of the *Danes*. Whilst the Kings of *Wessex* were employ'd in the Defence of their own Dominions, it was hardly possible for them to think of improving their Sovereignty over the three Kingdoms of the *Angles*, to whom *Egbert* was willing to leave some shadow of Liberty. And therefore, by Degrees the *Northumbrians*, as the farthest distant from *Wessex*, threw off their Yoke. The Factions that had for so many Years reign'd among them, had drop'd a great deal of their mutual Heat and Anomifity, since their unanimously agreeing to place *Osbert* on the Throne. This happy Union wou'd have rais'd *Northumberland* to its antient Splendor, had not an unforeseen Accident blown up the Coals of their Dissentions afresh, and sunk the Country into such a Gulf of Misery, that it never more was able to lift up its Head. The Origin of those new Troubles, which brought  
on

Malm.



on the Ruin of *Northumberland*, and prov'd fatal to all *England*, was this.

*The Cause  
of the Trou-  
bles in Nor-  
thumber-  
land.  
Brompton.*

*Osbert*, who kept his Court at *York*, returning one Day from Hunting, had a mind to refresh himself at the House of a certain Earl nam'd *Bruern-Bocard*, Guardian of the Coasts against the Irruptions of the *Danes*. The Earl happening to be from Home, his Lady, to whose charming Beauty was join'd the most engaging Behaviour, entertain'd her Sovereign with the Respect due to his Quality. *Osbert*, ravish'd at the Sight of so much Beauty, became in an Instant desperately in Love with her, and resolv'd, let the Consequence be what it wou'd, to satisfy his Passion without delay. Accordingly, on Pretence of having some Matters of Importance to communicate to her, in the Absence of the Earl, he led her insensibly into a private Room, where after several Attempts to bring her to comply by fair Means, he fell at length to downright Force. Entreaties, Tears, Cries, Reproaches, were ineffectual to put a stop to his raging Passion. After the Commission of this infamous Deed, he left the Countess in that excess of Grief and Vexation, that it was not possible for her to hide the Cause from her Husband. So outrageous an Affront is hardly ever forgiven. Tho' *Osbert* was King, and Earl *Bruern* his Subject, he resent'd so highly this Injury, that he resolv'd not to stick at any Means to be reveng'd. He had a great Interest with the *Northumbrians*, and the base Action of *Osbert* was naturally apt to alienate the Minds of his Subjects from him. Accordingly, by the Management of the Earl, the *Bernicians* in a little time revolted, and looking upon *Osbert* as unworthy to govern them, they elected another King nam'd *Ella*, whom they plac'd on the Throne, with a Resolution to support him in it. Thus the old Divisions, which seem'd to be quite laid asleep, were set on Foot again, and *Northumberland* once more divided between two Kings and two Factions, who continually aiming at each other's Destruction, were but too successful in their endeavours.

*Ella chosen  
King of  
Bernicia.*

A *Civil War* was the fatal Consequence of this Division. The two Kings did what they cou'd to decide their Quarrel by Arms; but the equality of their Forces preventing the Scale from inclining to either Side, they both kept their Ground. One wou'd think the offended Earl might have been satisfied with *Osbert's* losing half his Dominions. But his Revenge seem'd to him not to be compleated, whilst he saw him on the Throne of *Deira*. And therefore, since it wou'd be, as he rightly judg'd, a very difficult Matter to carry it any farther without a foreign Aid, he fatally resolv'd to go and procure the Assistance of the *Danes*. This was not the first Time the like Injury had produc'd the like Effect. *Spain*, under the Dominion of the *Moors*, felt at that very Time, the Mischiefs, an Affair of this Nature had been the Cause of. As soon as the Earl arriv'd in *Denmark*, he immediately applied to King *Ivar* [or *Hinguar*] (a.) and giving him a particular Account of the distracted State of *Northumberland*, let him see, if he wou'd take the Advantage of the present Juncture, he might with ease become Master of that Kingdom. *Ivar* very readily came into an Enterprize, which the desire of Revenge as well as his Ambition spurr'd him on to; *Regnerus* his Father, having been taken Prisoner in *England*, was thrown into a Ditch full of Serpents, where he miserably perish'd. So barbarous a Treatment having inspir'd *Ivar* with a furious hatred against the *English*, he imbrac'd, without any Hesitation, the present opportunity of being reveng'd of them. With this View, he concerted with Earl *Bruern* all necessary Measures to put their Design in Execution. In the Spring he enter'd the *Humber* with a numerous Fleet, which spread a Terror over all *England*. He was conducted by *Bruern*, and attended by his Brother *Hubba*, the most valiant Person of his Time. As the *Northumbrians* had no Intelligence

Earl Bruern brings the Danes into England.

Ivar makes a Descent on Northumberland. Sim. Duneelm

(a) *Pontanus*, in his History of *Denmark*, places not *Ivar* among the Kings of that Country: But *Meursius* assures us, that this Prince was crown'd in 836, wherein he agrees not in his *Chronology* with the *English* Historians.



Intelligence of this Invasion, they were in no readiness to dispute his landing. Thus *Ivar* without any Opposition became Master of the *Northern* Shore of the *Humber*. From whence he march'd directly to *York*, where *Osbert* was drawing an Army together to oppose him.

*Osbert applies to Ella for Aid.*

In this great extremity, *Osbert* applied to *Ella*, tho' his Enemy, for Assistance. *Ella*, conscious of his cruel treatment of *Ivar's* Father, and dreading the Son's Revenge, very willingly agreed to drop their private Quarrel in order to join Forces against the common Enemy. Accordingly, he proceeded with all possible expedition to bring him a powerful Reinforcement. If *Osbert* cou'd have brought himself to have staid in *York* till *Ella's* Arrival, who was upon the March, he wou'd doubtless have embarrass'd the King of *Denmark*, who by that Means wou'd have been forc'd to oppose the Enemy in two Places at once. But his great Courage wou'd not let him go so safe a way to work. Perhaps it was with regret that he saw himself constrain'd to have recourse to his Enemy, or it may be, he was afraid of some Treachery. However this be, without staying for *Ella*, he sallied out of *York*, and attack'd the *Danes* so vigorously, that they had much ado to stand the Shock, and were very near being put in Disorder. But their obstinate Resistance having at length slacken'd the Ardor of their Enemies, they press'd them in their turn, and compell'd them at last to retire without any Order into the Town. *Osbert*, desperately vex'd to see the Victory snatch'd out of his Hands, after being sure of it as he thought, us'd all his Endeavours to rally his Troops again, but was slain in the Retreat, with abundance of his Men.

*Osbert defeated and slain.*

*Meursius Hist: Dan.*

*Defeat and Death of Ella.*

This Victory having open'd the Gates of *York* to the *Danes*, they enter'd the Town in order to refresh themselves, whilst *Ella* was advancing, in hopes of repairing the Loss *Osbert* had suffer'd by his too great Haste. *Ivar* having just triumph'd over one of the Kings, and not believing the other to be more formidable, spar'd him some trouble, by going to meet him. This Battle was no less bloody than the first, nor less fatal to the *English*. *Ella* lost



lost his Life, and his Army was entirely routed. Some say, this Prince was not slain in the Battle; but being taken Prisoner, *Ivar* order'd him to be flead alive, in Revenge for his Father's Death. The Field of Battle was call'd *Ellescroft*, that is, *Ella's Overthrow*.

After these two signal Victories, *Ivar* without any one's opposing him, took possession of all *Northumberland*. But this not satisfying his Ambition, he march'd into *Mercia*, plundering and ravaging without mercy, all he met in his way. *Buthred* King of *Mercia*, having had time to prepare himself, had call'd in to his Assistance *Ethelred* his Brother-in-law, who had join'd him with all the Forces of *Wessex*. *Ivar* was advanc'd as far as *Nottingham*, in hopes of coming upon the King of *Mercia* unawares; but when he was inform'd *Ethelred* had join'd him, he stopp'd short, surpriz'd himself to find his Forces inferior to those of the *English* Princes. The two Armies stood near one another for some time, expecting every Moment to engage. But the Consequence of a Battle, which in all Appearance, wou'd determine the Fate of both Sides, kept them in suspense. At last, after having look'd one another in the Face a good while, they parted without coming to Blows. *Buthred* chose rather to bribe the Enemy to retire with a Sum of Money, than to hazard a Battle, the Success whereof was very dubious. Besides, he was aware there was nothing to be got by the *Danes*, tho' Fortune favour'd him, whereas his All was at Stake in Case he was worsted.

*Ivar enters  
Mercia.*

*Ethelred  
assists the  
King of  
Mercia.*

*Buthred  
buys the  
Danes off  
with a Sum  
of Money.*

Ever since *Ivar's* Arrival in *England*, he had terribly ravag'd all the Places wherever he came, particularly the Monasteries, where the *English* endeavour'd to conceal their most valuable Effects. One may easily imagine the idolatrous *Danes* had no great regard for the *Nuns*, and that Multitudes of them were expos'd to their brutal Lust. We have a remarkable Story upon this Head: The Abbess of *Coldingham*, upon the Approach of the *Danish* Army, prevail'd upon her *Nuns*, to cut off their Noses and Upper-Lips, in order to screen themselves from the Outrages they were threatn'd with. This no-

*Sim. Dunelm.  
Monastery  
of Colding-  
ham de-  
stroy'd.*

table Expedient, it is true, preserv'd their Honour, but cost them their Lives. The Soldiers beholding, contrary to their Expectations, such monstrous Visages, set fire to the Monastery, making them in the Flames compleat the Sacrifice of their Persons, which they had already begun offering to God.

870.  
Ivar sub-  
dues East-  
Anglia.

*Ivar* not having had all the Success he hop'd for in *Mercia*, turn'd his Arms another way, where in all likelihood he wou'd meet with less Opposition. He left *Hubba* his Brother in *Northumberland*, and embarking with the Flower of his Troops, he made a Descent on *East-Anglia*, where *Edmund* was King, of whom I have already spoken. This young Prince, more us'd to Acts of Devotion, than to the Exercise of Arms, having given the *Danes* Battle, was with Ease overthrown and compell'd to save himself by Flight. He thought of concealing himself in a Church, but being discover'd, he was brought before *Ivar* at *Hegilsdon* \*. The Conqueror offer'd to leave him in Possession of his Kingdom, provided he wou'd acknowledge him for his Sovereign, and pay him Tribute. *Edmund* refusing to come to these Terms, *Ivar* order'd him to be tied to a Tree, and shot at with Arrows, and then to have his Head cut off. \* *Humbert*

\* Hoxon  
in Suffolk.

Bishop

\* Tho' *Rafin*, as the most probable Opinion, makes *Osbert's* ravishing Earl *Bruern's* Lady the Occasion of the *Danes* coming to *Northumberland*, there is also another reason given of that and the barbarous Murther of *Edmund*. The Story goes, that *Lodebroch* King of *Denmark* going a Hawking in a Boat, was driven out to Sea by a Storm, and cast upon the *English* Coast near *Yarmouth*. He was seiz'd and brought to *Edmund's* Court, then King of *East-Anglia*, who finding him a great Sportsman, was pleas'd with his Company. *Bern* the King's *Faulkner* perceiving himself outdone in his own Business by this Stranger, drew him into a Wood, on pretence of showing him *Game*, and barbarously murder'd him. *Lodebroch's* Dog almost starv'd, comes to the Palace, and being fed goes away again. The Dog doing this several Times, made the King's Servants follow him, and thus were brought to a Sight of the Corps. *Bern* was tried for the Murther, and being found guilty, was condemn'd to be put into *Lodebroch's* Boat and committed to the Mercy of the Sea, without Tackling or Provision. He had the good For-

tune  
was  
being  
Edm  
fail'd  
Wea



Bishop of the *East-Angles*, was also put to Death by *Ivar's* Order. *Edmund's* Head being found some Time after, was buried with his Body at *St. Edmund's-Bury*, so called from him. Whilst the *Roman Catholick* Religion flourish'd in *England*, great Numbers of Miracles were said to be wrought at his Tomb. I don't know by what Accident his Corps came to be at *Toulouse*, where they pretend it was found in 1667.

An. de  
Toul. de la  
Faille.

*Ivar* being thus Master of *East-Anglia*, appointed a *Danish* Captain one *Godrim* or *Gothurn*, Governor of it. Afterwards, having recall'd his Brother *Hubba* from *Northumberland*, in order to be near his Person, he made *Ecbert*, by Birth an *Englishman*, but entirely at his Devotion, King of that Kingdom.

The good Success the *Danes* had met with during this War, having put them in hopes of becoming Masters of all *England*, they began to form new Projects, *Ivar*, who had got perfect Information of the State of the Island, found he must begin with *Wessex*, in order to bring his Designs about. He was in hopes, cou'd he once subdue that Kingdom, the rest wou'd follow of Course. On the other Hand, he was sensible that all his Conquests elsewhere, stood upon no firm Bottom whilst the King of *Wessex* was in a Condition to assist his Neighbours. These Considerations determin'd him to attack *Ethelred*, and having embark'd his Troops, he sail'd for the Coast of *Wessex*, where landing his Army, he advanc'd as far as *Reading*. *Ethelred*, who had foreseen his Design, being in a readiness with his Army, march'd towards that Quarter, accompanied by *Alfred* his Brother. It wou'd be tedious, and perhaps impracticable, to relate the Particulars of this War. It is sufficient to say in two Words, that within the Compass of one Year,

871.

*Ivar in-  
vades Wes-  
sex.*

S f 2

*Ethelred*

tune to be carried to the *Danish* Shore. The Boat being known, *Bern* was apprehended and examin'd about *Lodebroch*. He told them that being cast on the Coast of *East-Anglia*, he was put to Death by King *Edmund's* Order. Upon which, *Ivar* and *Hubba*, *Lodebroch's* Sons, sail'd for *East-Anglia*, with a numerous Army, but were forc'd by bad Weather into *Northumberland*. Coll. Eccl. Hist.



872.  
Ethelred's  
Death.

*Ethelred* fought nine pitch'd Battles, and upon all Occasions gave signal Proofs of his Courage and Conduct, tho' Fortune was not always favourable to him. In the last Battle, which was fought near *Wittingham*, he receiv'd a mortal Wound, whereof he died in 872, after he had reign'd five Years \*.

*Ethelred* seems not to be entirely free from blame, for letting the *Danes* over-run *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, without endeavouring to stop their Career. But it is somewhat probable that this Prince, surpriz'd at the Defeat of the two Kings of *Northumberland*, and the swift Progress of *Ivar's* Arms, did not think himself in a Capacity to repair the Misfortunes caus'd by the Dissentions of the *Northumbrians*. Besides, he did not care, doubtless, to expose in the Defence of *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, the Forces he foresaw he shou'd stand in need of for the Preservation of his own Kingdom. It may farther be said in his Justification, that the Terror which was spread over all *England*, put it out of his Power perhaps, to dispose of his Army as he cou'd have wish'd. This Terror was so great, that it was no easy Matter to get the *English* to march against so formidable Enemies, till they were compell'd to it in their own necessary Defence.

Tho' *Ethelred* was noted for his great Bravery, yet was he more so for his Piety and Devotion. An Historian \*  
\* After. de Alfr. Reb. Gest. p. 7. tells us, that being at *Prayers* upon a Day of Battle, he was resolv'd not to move till the *Service* was over, tho' the Fight was begun, and the *Danes* had some Advantage. He adds, God rewarded his Piety with a signal Victory that Day \*.

*Ethelred*

\* He lies buried at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where this Inscription is to be read on his Tomb:

In hoc loco quiescit Corpus S. Ethelredi Regis West-Saxonum Martyris, qui anno Domini DCCCLXXII. XXIII. Aprilis per manus Danorum Paganorum occubuit. *Camb.*

Some call this Epitaph in Question, and say he died of the Plague which happen'd at that Time.

\* That Battel was fought at *Ashdown* in *Berkshire*.





K. ALFRED  
*The Great.*

Wertue Sculp.



*Ethelred* left several Children, of whom *Alfred*, the great-Grand-father of *Ethelwerd* the Historian, was one. Some say also he had a Daughter call'd *Thyra*, married to *Troithon VI.* King of *Denmark*. *Ethelred's* Sons succeed-  
ed not to the Crown, for the same Reason the Sons of his elder Brother *Ethelbert* did not, I mean, *Ethelwulph's* Will. In pursuance to which *Alfred* his Brother was plac'd on the Throne without any one's questioning his Title.

During *Ethelred's* Reign, the *Danes* demolish'd the famous Monasteries of *Croyland*, *Ely*, *Peterborough* or *Medeshamsted*, besides *Coldingham* before mention'd. It is chiefly on the Description of the Miseries of the Abbeys that Historians have dilated, whilst they pass'd over in Silence, Events much more remarkable, and more worthy the Notice of a curious Reader.

## 6. ALFRED the Great.

**A**LFRED was no less infested with the *Danes* than ALFRED his Predecessor had been. This Prince, as well as *the Great*. his Brother *Ethelred*, had frequent Occasion of exercising his Valour, Firmness, and all the other Virtues Heaven had adorn'd him with. Their Fortune however was different; as *Ethelred* was never reduc'd to so deplorable a Condition as *Alfred*, so on the other hand, he was never rais'd to that Height of Glory. It seem'd as if Divine Providence had a Mind to let the World see in the Person of *Alfred*, how God sets up and pulls down Kings according to his good Pleasure. This is what I am about to shew in the Life of this Prince, in writing of which I shall for the most Part take for my Guide a celebrated Historian who has *Spelman*. given us an exact Account of *Alfred's* Actions.

*Ethelred* had left the Affairs of his Kingdom in a deplorable Condition. The *Danes*, already Masters of *Nor-* *The State of the King-*  
*thumberland* and *East-Anglia*, were in the very Heart of *dom*. the Kingdom of *Wessex*.<sup>a</sup> Notwithstanding the many Battles *Ethelred* had given Them, they had got Possession of  
*several*

*The Battle of Wilton, wherein Alfred is worsted.*

*He makes a Treaty with the Danes.*

*The Danes enter Mercia, and are bought off with Money.*

several Towns, and not only kept their Footing in the Country, but had reason to hope they shou'd soon go thro' with the Conquest of it. *Alfred* had scarce been a Month on the Throne, when he found himself oblig'd to take the Field against these formidable Enemies, who were advanc'd as far as *Wilton*. Hither it was that he march'd to attack them for the first Time, after his Brother's Death \*. He flatter'd himself for some time that Victory wou'd incline to his Side; but the Scene changing on a sudden in favour of the *Danes*, He was forc'd at length to leave them Masters of the Field of Battle. However, his Loss was not so considerable, as to put him out of all hopes of being reveng'd. As the *Danes* had also lost abundance of their Men, he endeavour'd, without the least Delay, to put his Army in a condition to give them Battle again, before they shou'd be reforc'd. They were astonish'd at his Expedition, and tho' victorious, they sued for Peace, finding they were unable to carry on the War. How much soever *Alfred* confided in his Troops, who appear'd eager to engage, he did not think proper to let slip the present opportunity of getting rid of his Enemies, without the Hazard of a second Battle. As they offer'd to march out of his Dominions, on condition he wou'd molest them in no other Part of *England*, he gladly complied with their Terms, looking upon them as very advantageous, considering his Circumstances. And indeed, this Treaty gave him Time to be in a readiness against a fresh Invasion, which he had all the reason in the World to expect. But had he been bent upon engaging them again and had lost the Day, his whole Kingdom wou'd infallibly have fallen into the hands of his Enemies.

The *Danes* upon marching out of *Wessex* retir'd to *London* \*, which they had taken during the last War. *Ivar* was return'd into *Denmark* and had left the Command of the

\* *Ethelwerd* seems to intimate that *Alfred* was not in this Battle in person, being busied about his Brother's Funeral. l. 4. c. 3.

\* Tho' *London* lay within the Precincts of the Kingdom of *Essex*, yet it was then in Subjection to *Mercia*, where it has continued ever since as Part of *Middlesex*.



the Army to his Brother *Hubba*, who being tied up from attacking *Wessex*, turn'd his Arms against *Mercia*. *Buthred* knowing he was not in a Capacity to resist him, since *Alfred* was bound not to send him any Succours, thought it his wisest Course to buy off the *Danes* with a Sum of Money, in order to save his Country from their Depredations. Upon the Receipt of the Money, they made for *Northumberland*, designing to take up their Quarters with their Countrymen. But Provisions running scarce, by reason of the Devastations they themselves had made, they saw themselves forc'd, as it were, to march back into *Mercia*. *Before* they left *Northumberland*, they depos'd *Egbert* whom they had plac'd on the Throne, and put a *Danish* Earl, one *Ricsige*, in his Room. *Buthred* finding they were come again into his Dominions, complain'd of their Breach of Faith; but without minding his Complaints, they compell'd him to give them another considerable Sum of Money, to retrieve his Country from the Destruction it was threatn'd with. But no sooner was the Money paid, but they fell to plundering and ravaging, and let *Buthred* know that even his own Person was in Danger. The Fear of falling into their hands, oblig'd him to abandon his Kingdom, and retire to *Rome*, where he spent the residue of his Days in the *English* College. *Mercia* being thus without a King, and *Alfred's* hands tied up from sending any Assistance, the *Danes* without any Difficulty became Masters of that spacious Kingdom. However, not to frighten the *Mercians* too much, they set over them as their King, *Ceoluph* one of *Buthred's* Domesticks. Tho' the new King was an *Englishman*, yet holding the Kingdom only till such time as his Masters shou'd require him to resign, he resolv'd to make use of his Time to fill his Coffers: So that the *Mercians* suffer'd as much by the continual Rapines and Extortion of their Countryman, as they wou'd perhaps have done by the Hands of a Foreigner.

Tho' the *Danes* were Masters of *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumberland*, they were not yet contented. They cou'd not forbear looking on *Wessex*, which contain'd the

*but return again.*

*S. Dunelm;*

*Buthred flies his Country and goes to Rome.*

*Ingulph.*

*The Danes Masters of half England.*

*other*



other four Kingdoms, with a greedy Eye. But as they had always met there with Princes that disputed every Inch of Ground with them, they were fain to enter into an Alliance with *Alfred* till a favorable opportunity presented it self of putting their Designs upon that Kingdom in Execution. In the mean while, they fell to manuring their Lands, and began to consider the Country, they had so often and so terribly laid waste, as their own. *England* being thus divided between the *English* and *Danes*, Peace and Tranquillity seem'd to be going to be restor'd. But the Miseries *England* was to suffer were far from being at an End.

Halfden arrives in East-Anglia.  
875.

takes Warham.  
\* in Dorsetshire.

Whilst *Alfred* was in hopes of enjoying some Quiet, new Work was cutting out for him in *Denmark*, *Halfden*, a *Danish* General, had fitted out a Fleet, with which he came and made a Descent on *East-Anglia*. The Season being far advanc'd, he lay still all the Winter, expecting the Spring in order to invade *Wessex*. The Arrival of *Halfden* with fresh *Danish* Troops, ought to have put *Alfred* upon his Guard, since it was but too plain they were design'd against him. However, trusting to the Treaty he had lately made with the *Danes*, he sat down unconcern'd, of which *Halfden* did not fail to take the Advantage. In the Beginning of the Spring, he put to Sea, and went and took by Surprize *Warham-Castle* \*, the strongest Place in all *Wessex*. The *English* hitherto seem not to have known, what Sort of Enemies they had to deal with. They consider'd the *Danish* Irruptions as a regular War, wherein the whole Nation was concern'd. Accordingly, they imagin'd that a Treaty concluded with one Band or Party was obligatory to all the rest. But the *Danes* had other Thoughts of these Matters. They enter'd, with the Consent of their Kings, into private *Associations* to man out Fleets and go shares in what Booty they cou'd carry off from *England* and other Countries. For this reason, the several Bands were independent of one another, each thinking themselves bound by no other Treaty but what they enter'd into themselves. *Alfred* had made a Treaty with *Hubba*; but *Halfden* did not look upon himself as included

cluded in it. However, the *English* considering the Surprise of *Warham* as downright Treachery, call'd Heaven and Earth to witness the Violation of the *Treaty*. But *Halfden*, not regarding their Complaints, was about to penetrate farther into *Wessex*, had not *Alfred* prevented him by entering into a particular *Treaty* with him. The Author of his Life says, the *Danes* swore by the *Holy Relicks* of the Church, that they wou'd never set foot again in *Wessex* \*. In all appearance, it cost the King dear to bring them to these Terms. One can't help being surpris'd at *Alfred's* insisting upon People's swearing by the *Holy Relicks*, who, being as yet *Pagans*, cou'd not think themselves more firmly bound by That, than by the Oath they were wont to swear, by their *Bracelets*. Perhaps his Reason was, that in case they shou'd break their Oath, he thought Heaven wou'd the more assuredly punish them for it. However this be, they made no more Conscience of This, than of their former Oaths; but broke it even before they were got out of *Wessex*. As they were marching towards *Mercia*, they met a Body of *English Horse*, who were riding in a careless manner by reason of the *Treaty's* being concluded, and setting upon them when they little expected it, slew the greatest Part of Them. The *Horses* they took upon this Occasion were of service to carry them with the more speed towards the *Western* Parts of *Wessex*, where they laid Siege to *Exeter* \*.

Alfred  
treats with  
Halfden,

who breaks  
the Treaty,

Affer.  
Fl. Wig.

and besieges  
Exeter.

*Alfred* finding it was in vain to enter into *Treaties* with such perfidious People, was resolv'd to take more effectual Measures to secure himself from their Treachery. To this Purpose, he conven'd a General Assembly, and in a pathetick Speech plainly let them see that they had nothing to trust to but their Valour and Courage to deliver them from their Miseries; that upon so urgent an occasion there

876.  
The War is  
renew'd.

T t

was

\* The most solemn Manner of Swearing among the *Danes* and other Northern Nations was by their Arms. *Olaus Mag. l. 8. c. 2.*

\* *Huntingdon* and *Saxon Annals* tell us that they rode to *Exeter* upon their own Horses, and that the Foot that remain'd at *Warham* were most of them shipwrack'd in the beginning of the Year at *Swanwick* (now *Sanwick* in *Hampshire*) the rest esaping to *Exeter*.



Alfred  
makes a  
new Treaty  
with the  
Danes.

was a necessity of venturing their Lives in defence of their Country, and of sacrificing Part of their Estates to preserve the Rest; in fine, *that* a generous Resolution was the only Means left to avoid the Calamities their Neighbours were fallen under. These Remonstrances having produc'd the Effect he expected, an Army was levied, with which he engag'd the Enemy seven Times in one Campaign. But as Fortune was not equally favorable to him in all these Battles, he was once more constrain'd to enter into a Negotiation with the *Danes*. Tho' he cou'd have no great Dependance upon their *Faith*, it was the best way he cou'd take to put an end to this dangerous War. This new Treaty, by which the *Danes* were oblig'd to return no more into *Wessex*, was better kept than the former.

Rollo ar-  
rives in  
England.  
876.

The *West-Saxons* look'd upon the Retreat of their formidable Enemies as a great Deliverance. But they were not as yet at the End of their Miseries. Immediately upon the going off of the *Danes* who had put them in such a Consternation, a new Swarm arriv'd under the Command of *Rollo*, the famous *Norman* General, that became afterwards a Scourge to *France*. By good Luck, *Alfred* was in a condition to receive them. After some Attempts *Rollo*, despairing of procuring a Settlement in *England*, resolv'd to see what was to be done in *France*. In all probability, finding the best Part of *England* in Possession of his Countrymen, and *Alfred* ready to dispute the Rest with him, he thought he shou'd speed much better in *France*. Some affirm, that it was reveal'd to him in a Dream what great Success he shou'd meet with on the other side the Water.

Goes to seek  
his Fortune  
in France.

Alfred fits  
out a Fleet.

After *Rollo's* Departure, *Alfred* enjoy'd some Respite, which gave him an opportunity of contriving how to prevent these frequent Invasions. The best and quickest way he cou'd light on, was to equip a good Fleet, in order to engage the *Danes* before they came to land, where they generally had the Advantage. As Sea-Engagements had not as yet enter'd into their Heads, the Ships they made use of, were only fit for *Transports*, whereas *Alfred* had contriv'd His on purpose for *Service*. It was not long before he reap'd the Fruits of his Invention. His Fleet

meeting



meeting with Six *Danish* Vessels, gave chase to them, and one of the largest of them being taken, the Soldiers and Mariners were thrown over-board. This first Engagement was follow'd by a much more considerable One. An hundred and twenty Sail of *Danish* Transport Ships making to the shore in order to land their Men, the King's Fleet attack'd them, and sunk the greatest Part of them. The next Year another *Danish* Fleet sailing *Westward*, met with such a violent Storm, that all the Ships perish'd, except a few which fell into the Hands of the *English*.

*Alfred* encourag'd by these good Successes, resolv'd upon going to attack the *Danes* in the *West*, where they had fortified themselves by the Taking of *Exeter*. Besides, the *Cornish Men* had all along sided with them. He put his Resolution in execution with that Courage and Success, that in fine he oblig'd the *Danes* to give him *Hostages* and entirely abandon *Wessex*. They retir'd into *Mercia*, where being weary with leading such unsettled lives, they were incorporated with their Countrymen, who were in possession of that Kingdom. They depos'd, with one Consent, *Ceoluph*, and divided the Land among themselves. What Kind of Government they establish'd we know not; the *English* Historians passing over in silence the *Civil* Affairs of the *Danes*, relate only their Wars. Thus an End was put to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, after it had subsisted near 300 Years.

The Danes  
quit West-  
sex.

877.  
The End of  
the King-  
dom of  
Mercia.

The Year before, the Kingdom of *Northumberland* had undergone the same Fate. *Halfden*, who was gone thither, had made *Egbert* King in the Room of *Recfige*, who died in 876. The new King or Vice-roy was of no long Continuance. In the first Year of his Reign, *Halfden* dethron'd him, and divided the Land among his Countrymen: Which no doubt was the Reason the *Danes* in *Mercia* did the same Thing. Thus the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, which had lasted 330 Years from the time of *Ida* the first King, was canton'd out among the *Danish* Officers. It prov'd a very difficult Matter to drive them out from thence, as we shall see in the Sequel.

and of  
Northum-  
berland.

The Danes  
invade  
Wessex,

and take  
Chippen-  
ham.

Alfred de-  
serted by all.

Is forc'd to  
lie conceal'd  
at a Neat-  
herd's.

Tho' the *Danes* were in Possession of three of the antient Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, yet was there not Room enough for all Those that were already in *England*, and for those which were continually coming over with a Design to settle. The New-Comers beheld *Wessex* with a greedy Eye. On the other Hand, They, who had shar'd out the Lands of the other Kingdoms among themselves, perceiving their Countrymen envied their good Fortune, were apprehensive it might come into their Heads to dispossess them, if they were not otherwise provided for. This made them all agree to invade *Wessex*, and exert their utmost to become Masters of that Kingdom, which had till then so bravely withstood their Attacks. They carried on their Design with all possible Secrecy and Expedition. On a sudden appear'd in the Field a more formidable Army of *Danes*, than had yet been seen, advancing towards *Wessex*, before *Alfred* cou'd possibly put himself in a Posture of Defence. They march'd directly to *Chippenham* \*, one of the finest and strongest Cities of the Kingdom. The taking of this Place, which was done in a few Days, struck such a Terror into the *West-Saxons*, as bereav'd them of all Courage to defend themselves. Some fled into *Wales* or beyond *Sea*, whilst others ran over to the *Danes*, and swore Allegiance to them. In this so general a Revolt, *Alfred* was left alone with a few Domesticks, who out of Duty and Affection, were unwilling to abandon him in his Adversity. But as they were chargeable to him, and cou'd do him but little Service, he dismiss'd them All, that he might with the greater Ease shift for himself. Such was his Distress, that he was forc'd to go and conceal himself at a *Neat-herd's* in the Isle of *Athelney* in *Somersetshire* \*. This Place was surrounded with a large Morass, thro' which there

\* In *Wiltshire*, by the *Saxons* call'd *Cyppanham*, now only famous for its Market, whence it had its Name; for *Cyppan* signifies to traffick, and *Cypman*, a Merchant; and we still retain *Cheapen* and *Chapman*. *Cambd.* Of the same original is *Cheapside*, London.

\* Formerly call'd *Athelney* (i. e.) The Island of Nobles. It lies near *Taunton*, where the *Thone* and *Parret* join. The firm Ground is not above two Acres.



there was but one narrow *Foot-Path* leading to the *Neat-herd's* Cottage, that was hid by Briars and Thorns. In this Place the King lay conceal'd for some time, from his Friends as well as Enemies, without being so much as known by the *Neat-herd's* Wife, who employ'd him about her little Household Affairs \*. This was a wretched Condition for a Prince. But God, who design'd only to exercise his Patience, left him not long in these Circumstances. He had not been six Months in his Retreat, when the Scene was shifted by a lucky and unexpected Turn in his Affairs. It is pretended that this happy Change was reveal'd to him in a Dream by St. *Cuthbert*, formerly Bishop of *Lindisfarn*, who appear'd to him and told him that he shou'd suddenly be rais'd to an infinitely more glorious State than *that* from whence he was fallen. But without insisting on these *idle Tales* of the Monks, who cou'd not find in their Hearts to pass over an extraordinary Event without introducing some *Apparition* or *Miracle*, I shall relate how this great Revolution was brought about by means of a *desperate* Undertaking.

*Hubba*, who commanded the *Danish* Troops in the Absence of his Brother *Ivar*, had invaded *Wales* and destroy'd all with Fire and Sword. After which, he enter'd *Devonshire* in the Kingdom of *Wessex*, with the same Intent. At his Approach, the Earl of *Devon* with a Handful of brave Fellows, retir'd into *Kimwith Castle* \* to avoid the first Shock of the *Danish* Fury. *Hubba* was not long before he laid siege to the Castle, not doubting but the Garrison, being few in Number, wou'd soon be oblig'd to surrender. The Earl of *Devon*, finding all the Defence he cou'd make wou'd be to no Purpose, laid before the Besieg'd the Danger they were in of falling into the Hands of their merciless Enemies, and assur'd them they had but one way to escape, which was, by opening themselves a

*Hubba* ravages  
Wales, and  
enters *Wessex*.

\* on the River *Tau*.

Passage

\* She having one day set a Cake on the Coals, and being busied about some thing else, the Cake happen'd to be burnt; upon which she fell a scolding at the King for his Carelessness in not looking after the Cake, which she told him he cou'd eat fast enough. *Asser*.



Passage with their Swords thro' the Enemy's Army. He represented to them, that this Enterprize was not so rash and desperate, as they might imagine; That undoubtedly the *Danes* were very negligent and secure, not regarding them but as a Handful of Men pent up within Walls; That therefore what he propos'd was far from being impracticable, provided they gave the Enemy no time to prevent them; That after all they ventur'd only their Lives and Liberties, which wou'd be in much greater Danger by standing a Siege. This Advice had such an Effect upon the Besieg'd, that without deliberating upon the Matter, they sallied out Sword in hand upon the *Danes*, and by their sudden and furious Attack put them immediately in extreme Disorder. This happy Beginning made them forget their first Design, and inspir'd them with a Resolution to pursue their Advantage. They continu'd therefore to press the *Danes* with a fresh Impetuosity, without giving them time to recover out of their Surprise; and having at length entirely dispers'd them, made a great slaughter of them. *Hubba* was slain, and his famous Standard, nam'd *Reafan*, or the *Raven*, fell into the Hands of the *English*. The *Danes* had a Notion there was a secret Virtue in this Standard, which *Ivar's* Sisters had wrought with their own Hands \*. By the Help of a strong Fancy, or by the Delusion of the Devil, they imagin'd they saw this *Raven*, before a Battle, Clap his Wings in Token of Victory, or hang down his Head, as a Presage of their Defeat. This at least is what Historians tell us, adding, that the loss of their Standard did not a little contribute to the sinking their Courage afterwards.

*Hubba slain,  
and his famous  
Standard taken.*

*Alfred con-  
sults how to  
regain his  
Kingdom.*

The News of this Defeat and the Death of the *Danish* General, having reach'd *Alfred* in his Hiding-Place, he immediately began to consider how to turn this lucky Blow to his Advantage. He sent word to his Friends, where he was, to the end they might come and consult together what was to be done in this Juncture. After he had conferr'd with them, he gave them Orders to draw together in

\* They pretend it was work'd magically in a most an Instant.

in several Parts of the Kingdom, small Bodies of Troops, which at a minute's Warning might be ready to join one another. The most difficult as well as most important Matter was, to know exactly the Posture of the Enemy, that Measures might be concerted accordingly. *Alfred*, Goes to the Danish Camp in disguise. Ingul. Malm. not knowing who to pitch upon for this necessary Work, took the boldest Resolution that ever enter'd into the Thoughts of a Prince, which was, to go himself into the *Danish* Camp, and be inform'd by his own Eyes of the Condition of the Enemy. To this End, having disguis'd himself and taken a Harp in his hand, as if he had got his Livelihood by playing on that Instrument, he enter'd the *Danish* Camp, and stay'd there several Days, observing, to the utmost of his Power, every thing he wanted to be inform'd of. Among other things, he took Notice, that whereas generally the *Danes* were wont to encamp and intrench themselves on a Hill, they had neglected to do so now. They had not so much as plac'd any advanc'd Guards to secure the Avenues to their Camp, as having nothing to fear, since the Enemy had no Army in the Field \*. After he had observ'd all Particulars, he return'd to his Friends at *Athelney*, and appointed *Selwood* \* *Forest* \* (i. e.) the Great Wood in Somersetshire. for the general Rendezvous of all their Troops. This Affairs was transacted so secretly and expeditiously, that in a little time the King at the Head of an Army appear'd near the *Danes* before they had the least Intelligence of the Matter. They were in the utmost Consternation when they saw on a sudden the *English* Army approaching to attack them. *Alfred* was unwilling to give them time to recover out of their Surprise; and therefore exhorting his Troops in a few words not to have the least Dread of an Army already vanquish'd by their Fears, gave the signal of Battle. The *Danes*, tho' assaulted thus unexpectedly, defended themselves however with a great deal of Courage. But, whether they had not time to draw up their Troops in order, or whether the Loss of their Standard had possess'd

\* This Relation is not in *Afferius* or *Ethelwerd*; but in *Ingulfus*, *Malmsbury* and most of the more Modern Historians.



selfs'd them with a Notion that their Gods were averſe to them, they were at length entirely routed, and almoſt their whole Army cut in Pieces. The few Forces that eſcap'd, betook themſelves to a Caſtle, where they were immediately beſieg'd. *Alfred* taking the Advantage of their Conſternation, preſs'd them ſo briskly, that they were ſoon brought to capitulate. The Terms he granted them were more advantageous, than they had room to expect in their Circumſtances. He artickled to give up the Lands of *East-Anglia* to thoſe that were willing to turn Chriſtians, but requir'd the reſt immediately to quit the Iſland, never more to ſet foot in *England*, and to give Hoſtages for the Performance of Articles. *Guthurm*, Governor of *East-Anglia*, who ſince the Death of *Hubba* commanded the *Daniſh* Army, agreed to theſe Conditions, and came to *Alfred*, with thirty of his Chief Officers, after he had ſhipp'd off all thoſe that refus'd to be baptiz'd \*.

This great Victory ſet *Alfred* at the Height of his Wiſhes. He had, by one ſingle Battle, drove out the *Danes* and regain'd his Kingdom, and ſaw every day his Subjects flock to him, whom Fear had diſpers'd or conſtrain'd to ſubmit to the Enemy. He gave *Guthurm* and his Officers a very civil Reception, and kept his word faithfully with them. All the Hiſtorians are agreed that he inveſted the *Daniſh* General with the Title of *King of East-Anglia*. But it is not known whether he did this by virtue of ſome private Treaty made before with him; or whether he deſign'd by it to gain his Affection to that Degree that he might entirely conſide in him. However this be, it is certain *Guthurm* held, with the Title of King, the Kingdom of *East-Anglia*, which was wholly inhabited by *Danes*, and whereof *Ivar* had made him Governor. He divided the Lands among his Countrymen, and exercis'd the Regal Authority, as long as he liv'd. Some, particularly *Aſſerius*, add, that *Alfred* gave *Guthurm* the Kingdom of *Northumberland* alſo. But this is very improbable, ſince the *Danes* had for a long while been Maſters of *Northumberland*, and had ſhar'd out the Lands among themſelves!

\* *Alfred* ſtood God-father to *Guthurm* and nam'd him *Ethelſtan*!



selves. The Case was not the same with respect to *East-Anglia*, where the *Danes* had no fix'd Abode, and which was still consider'd as Part of the *English* Monarchy, tho' the *Danes* were the most powerful there. So that *Alfred* did nothing more than confirm them in the Possession of that Kingdom, by granting them a King of their own Nation, who was to be his Vassal.

In all that has hitherto been said, one may observe, that at the time of the last Battle, there were in *England* two Sorts of *Danes*, those that were already settled, and those that were endeavouring to procure themselves Habitations. With these Last it was that *Alfred* treated. As for the others, after they had seen their Brethren so roughly handled, they thought themselves happy in being able to preserve their Possessions. As the Fortune of War is dubious, they chose rather to sit down contented and acknowledge *Alfred* for their Sovereign, than run the Risk of losing their All, by continuing the War. Accordingly the *Danes* settled in the three Kingdoms of the *Angles*, submitted to *Alfred*, and swore *Allegiance* to him. It was however next to impossible that all shou'd equally be contented with their Lot. Several accepted of the Terms of the last Treaty, only because they knew not where to go, having elsewhere neither House nor Home. If they seem'd desirous of turning Christians, it was in order to procure a Subsistence, whilst they waited for a favorable opportunity to return to their old Course of Life. That this was the Case, was manifest from what follow'd. When it was least expected, the most Considerable among them, headed by one *Hastings*, earnestly sollicitated *Guthurm* to renew the War in *Wessex*; but not prevailing, they put to Sea, and went and ravag'd the Coasts of *Flanders*. A little after, another and no less numerous Troop, inform'd of the great Booty the first Ravagers had met with at *Gant*, shipp'd off to join them. These two Bands thus united over-ran *Brabant*, *Haynault*, *Flanders*, *Picardy* and *Artois*, acting unheard-of Cruelties. After which, being again divided into two Bodies, one of them sail'd back for *England*, in hopes of plundering the Country, where they imagin'd they shou'd

*All the Danes own Alfred for their Sovereign.*

*The Danes return to England, and are recompuls'd.*

come unexpected. Having landed in *Kent*, they march'd towards *Rocheſter*, with a deſign to ſurprize the City. But *Alfred*, who, contrary to their Expectation, had his Army in a readineſs, having poſted that way upon the firſt Notice of their Arrival, his Approach made them fly to their Ships in ſuch a Hurry, that they left their Plunder behind them. The Watchfulneſs of this Prince having prevented their Deſigns upon *England*, they return'd to *France*, and having rejoin'd their Companions they continued their Devaſtations in that Kingdom.

Alfred increaſes his Naval Forces.

Alfred fits out a Fleet.

Hitherto the *Engliſh* had been only on the *Deſenſive*. Expoſ'd to the continual Invaſions of the *Danes*, and uncertain where the Enemy wou'd land, they were generally ſurpris'd, before it was in their power to defend themſelves. The Sea-Coaſts remaining uninhabited, there was nothing to hinder theſe Rovers from Landing where they pleas'd. *Alfred* having now ſome Peace and leiſure, reſolv'd to put his Affairs in better Order. His firſt Care was to equip a conſiderable Fleet, the Advantage of which he had already experienc'd. As ſoon as his Fleet was in a Condition to ſail, the Admiral had orders to Cruize along the Coaſts and attack all the *Daniſh* Ships in what Place ſoever he ſhou'd light on them. He ſurpris'd Sixteen in the Port of *Harwich* \* in *East-Anglia*, of which taking ſome and ſinking the reſt, he brought off a conſiderable Booty. *Guthrum* incens'd at this Act of Hoſtility in one of his Harbours and as it were under his Noſe, ſuffer'd the Parties concern'd to endeavour to repair their Loſſes, and even furniſh'd them with Means. It was not long before they found an opportunity of attacking, in the Night, the King's Ships, and had ſome Advantage over them. However the Fleet kept the Rovers in Awe, and freed *England* from their Ravages.

*Alfred,*

\* In *Effex*, famous for its Harbour, its name importing an *Haven* where an Army may lie. The Walls are built and the Streets pitch'd with a ſort of petrified Clay falling from the Cliffs thereabouts. From the Side of the Cliff between the Beacon and the Town, iſſues a Spring that petrifies Wood as well as Clay: a large Piece ſent from hence is reſerv'd in the Repository of the Royal Society. *Camb. Addit. to Effex.*



*Alfred*, having thus secur'd the Sea-Coasts, diligently set about fortifying the rest of the Kingdom with Castles and wall'd Towns, which he stood in great need of. He repair'd those that were gone to Ruin; and built others, in so strong a manner, that they cou'd not easily be assaulted. In a word, there was not a *Pass* or *Avenue* capable of being fortified, but what was defended by some *Works*, in order to prevent the sudden Incurfions of the *Danes*. But however he cou'd not be entirely guarded against them, without one Important Place, the Possession whereof wou'd be of great consequence to him upon all Respects. This was the City of *London*, considerable both for its Largeness and Situation, and which being in the Hands of the *Danes* wou'd give them a free Passage into *Wessex*, when ever they shou'd have a mind to invade his Dominions. This Consideration made him resolve to lay siege to it, knowing the Garrison was not in a condition to hold out long. Accordingly, the Besieged were in a little time forc'd to come to a Capitulation. He was no sooner Master of this large City, but he very much added both to its Strength and Beauty \*. He committed the Government of it to *Ethelred*, who had married his Daughter *Elfleda*, or rather he gave it him in *Fee*, with the Title of *Earl of Mercia*. Some will have it, he conferr'd on him the Title of King; but I doubt they have no Grounds for what

*He fortifies  
several  
Towns.  
887.*

*Besieges and  
takes Lon-  
don, and  
gives it to his  
Son-in-law  
Ethelred.*

U u 2

\* We have no certain Account of the Original of this famous City. But as it is not evident there was any such Place in *Caesar's* time, and yet a great Town in *Nero's*, it is probable it was founded in the Reign of *Claudius*, and inhabited by the *Britons* and *Romans* together, being a *Trading* tho' not a *Military* Colony from the very Beginning. The Walls are said to be built by *Constantine the Great* at the Request of *Helena* his Mother, containing within them an oblong Space of three Miles in Compass. That Part which ran along the side of the *Thames* is quite wash'd away the Rest remains to this Day. There are seven Gates, *Ludgate*, *Newgate*, *Aldersgate*, *Bishopsgate*, *Cripplegate*, *Morgate*, and *Aldgate*. The Origin of its Name is unknown. *Caesar's* saying the *Britains* call'd the Places fenc'd round with Woods and Groves, Cities or Towns, made *Cambden* conjecture *London* was so nam'd from *Llhwyn*, which signifies in *British* such a Town, as if we shou'd say by way of Eminence, *The City*. *Camb.* Addit. to *Midd.*



they advance. By creating *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, He did not invest him with Power over any Part of *Mercia*, but only over *London*. All the rest of *Mercia* was in Possession of the *Danes*, over whom he asserted no other Right but *that* of Sovereignty, to which they had lately consented. *Ethelred* therefore was honour'd with an empty Title, till such time, as by his Valour he became Master of good Part of that Province.

*The Danes stood in awe of Alfred.*

The great Number of Towns *Alfred* repair'd and fortified, found him work for some Years. These Fortifications serv'd equally to defend the Kingdom against the Foreign *Danes*, and to keep those in Awe that were settled in the Island; who seeing the Regulations this wise Prince had made, were the more induc'd to continue in obedience. They even permitted several of the *English*, whom they had driven from their Habitations, to return and live among them under the King's Protection.

*England is in Quiet 12 Years.*

Then it was that *Alfred* had the Satisfaction to see Peace and Tranquillity restor'd, after so many Years of Troubles. This happy Calm lasted twelve Years \*, during which this Monarch had Leisure to rectify the Disorders introduc'd by so long a War, both in Church and State. As I design hereafter to give a particular Account of the Regulations of this Prince during the Peace, I shall pass them over here in order to make an End of his Wars. It is sufficient at present to say, that in this Interval he laid out his constant Endeavours in procuring the Good and Benefit of his Subjects, till he was interrupted by fresh Invasions, which I am now going to relate.

*The Danes renew their Invasions,*

The *Danes*, who under the Conduct of *Hastings* ravag'd for 12 or 13 Years together *France* and the *Low-Countries*, were not satisfied with the prodigious Booty they had brought off. According to the Custom of Pyrates, they prodigally spent what they had acquir'd without any Pains or Labour, and so were always reduc'd to a Necessity of renewing their Ravages in order to have wherewithal

\* *Spelman, Milton, &c.* say the *Danes* infested *England* in 885 and in 893 they came again. So there cou'd be but eight Years Peace.

to subsist. However, disheartned by two terrible Checks given them by *Eudes* and *Arnulph* Kings of *France* and *Germany*, they resolv'd to return into *England*, more for the sake of Plunder, than out of a Design to settle there. To this End, they fitted out 300 Ships, which they divid-  
 ed into two Fleets. With one of them, consisting of 200 Sail, they arriv'd on the Coast of *Kent*, and took *Apple-*  
*dore*. This Place, which was then very considerable, made them Masters of that Province as well as of *Sussex* and *Surrey*. The other Fleet, commanded by *Hastings*, enter'd the *Thames* and landed at *Middleton* \*. It wou'd be a difficult matter to describe the Miseries the Inhabitants of these Counties suffer'd by the hands of these Barbarians. But when we consider, they were Idolatrous *Rovers* and *Pirates*, we shall easily conceive they made no scruple of committing the most enormous Cruelties. *Alfred* was then in *East-Anglia*, on Account of *Guthurm's* Death. As he had receiv'd no Intelligence of their Designs, he had made no Preparation for his Defence. All he cou'd do for the Present was to take a New Oath of Fidelity from the *East-Anglian Danes*. But they kept it no longer than he stay'd among them. After he was gone, they went and join'd *Hastings*, in order to go shares in the Plunder. *Alfred*, amidst all these Dangers, lost not his Courage. He drew together what Troops he cou'd, and march'd against the *Danes* who were pillaging *Kent*. But being inform'd by the Way, that another Body of *Danes* had enter'd *Wessex*, he alter'd his Course and advanced towards these Last, as judging them the most dangerous. The *Danes*, who were then before *Exeter*, rais'd the Siege in a great Hurry, and went and vented their Fury in some other Place.

and take  
 Appledore  
 and Middleton.

The Danes  
 of East-  
 Anglia join  
 them.

It is impossible to give the Particulars of this War, so confusedly are they related by Historians. The Reason of this no doubt was, because there were several Bands of  
*Danes*

Confusion in  
 the History  
 of those  
 Wars.

\* Now *Milton* in *Kent*. The *Danes* built a Castle here, Part whereof is still remaining at *Kemsley-Downs*. They now call it *Castle-Ruff*. On the other side of the Water, the Ditches of *Alfred's* Fortifications with some Stone-Work remain also by the name of *Bavord-Castle*, near *Sittingburn*. *Camb. Add. to Kent.*



*Danes* ravaging *England* at the same time, One in *Kent*, and Another in *Wessex*, and roving continually from Place to Place: Of which the *English* Historians could not possibly get a distinct Knowledge, since a War undertaken for the sake of Plunder, can have but little Regularity in it. Accordingly we find in their Histories, the same Leaders, sometimes in one Province, sometimes in another, without being able to perceive *when* or *how* they got thither.

The Danes  
go off on a  
sudden.

We are ignorant also by what lucky Accident *Alfred* saw himself freed on a sudden from his cruel Enemies, who had over-ran his whole Kingdom. Thus much however is certain, that after they had reduc'd *England* to a deplorable Condition, they shipp'd off again, though Historians have not been pleas'd to tell us the Cause. I am apt to believe their sudden Departure was owing to the Plague, which rag'd then in *England*, and carried off great numbers of the *Danes* as well as *English*. To this may be added, their having plunder'd the Country in such a manner, that there was nothing left to pillage. The greatest part of the *Danish* Rovers made for *France*, under the Command of *Hastings*: but they did not stay there long. *Hastings* had new Projects on Foot. The Terror he had every where spread along the Sea Coasts having put All upon their Guard, he resolv'd to steer his Course where he shou'd not be expected, and so sail'd for the *Mediterranean*. Whilst he was there, he found the Means, by an impious and perfidious Stratagem, to become Master of *Luna*, situated on the Coast of *Tuscany*. He pretended he was mighty desirous of turning Christian, and accordingly was baptiz'd by the Bishop who came to him on purpose. A few Days after, the Bishop was told his new Convert was departed this life, and that he died like a good Christian, earnestly desiring he might be buried in the Church of *Luna*, to which he had bequeath'd a considerable Legacy. By this crafty Device, a great Number of *Danes*, on pretence of attending the Corps, enter'd the City, which they had no sooner done, but they fell to murdering and plundering the Inhabitants,

*Hastings,*



*Hastings*, after having brought so many Miseries on *England*, *France* and the *Low-Countries*, chose at length for his Retirement the City of *Chartres* \*, which *Charles the Simple* presented him with, on purpose to keep him quiet. Here it was he ended his Days in Peace, after having spent the greatest Part of his Life in plundering most of the maritime Countries of *Europe*. The *Danes*, that refus'd to go with him when he left *England*, put themselves under the Command of one *Sigefert* settled in *Northumberland*. For some time, these committed also some Ravages on the Coasts of *Wessex*, without daring however to advance far into the Country, by reason of their being but few in Number, and at last they sail'd off to seek their Fortune elsewhere \* \*.

*Hastings*  
retires to  
*Chartres*,  
and ends his  
Days there.  
\* about 42  
Miles from  
*Paris*.

*Alfred*, being at length freed from his Enemies, pass'd the Remainder of his Days in profound Tranquillity. Hitherto I have consider'd this Prince as a Warrior only, one while crown'd with Conquest, and another while vanquish'd and over-thrown, but, whether Prosperous or Unfortunate, showing on all occasions signal Marks of his Valour and Military Conduct. \* It is now time to make his other virtues known, by taking a view of him in another Light. Henceforward he is to appear as a just, learned, and religious Prince, a Lover of his Subjects, and an indefatigable Promoter of Arts, Sciences, Justice and Religion. But, not to confound his *Civil* with his *Moral* Virtues, I shall begin with what he did for the Good of his People, as their Sovereign, and then shall speak of his *private Life*, and the Manner how he regulated his *Domestick* Affairs.

The King-  
dom is freed  
from the  
Danes.

As soon as the *Danes*, settled in *England*, found they were depriv'd of all hopes of Succours from their Countrymen, they bethought themselves how to secure their present Possessions. The Continuation of the War was so far from being likely to encrease their Advantages, that they

The Danes  
acknow-  
ledge *Alfred*  
for their So-  
vereign.

\* *Spelman* says, *Alfred* fitted out a Fleet, and giving them Chace, took 20 of their Ships and hung up the Pirates along the Sea-Coast for a Terror to the rest.

\* \* He is said to have fought 56 pitched Battles with the *Danes*.

they had reason to fear they should by that means lose those they already had. But supposing they had been able to maintain their Ground by Force of Arms, yet a War, which would have oblig'd them to have been always with their Swords in their Hands, and so prevented them from manuring their Lands, could not but be very prejudicial to them. These Considerations induc'd them at length to submit to the Dominion of *Alfred*, and acknowledge him as Sovereign of all *England*. Historians do not inform us whether he was oblig'd to use any Force to bring them to this: But it is certain, that his Authority was acknowledg'd, as well in *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, as in *Wessex*. The *Welsh* themselves, who had been terribly harra's'd by the *Danes*, finding they were in no Condition to resist, became his Tributaries \*. It is further added, that the King of *Scotland* paid him Homage also. But this is a too disputable Point to be affirm'd for Truth \*<sup>1</sup>.

Alfred  
makes a  
Body of  
Laws.

The first Thing *Alfred* did after his becoming Absolute, was to make use of his Power for the Good and Benefit of his Subjects. As the Laws, during the Wars, had been very much trampled upon, and were become almost unknown to the People, he laid out his Pains, for some Time, in making a Collection of the best Laws he could light on. He inserted several of the *Judicial Laws* \*<sup>2</sup> of the *Old Testament*, and a great many of those *Ina* King of *Wessex*, and *Offa* King of *Mercia* \*<sup>4</sup> had formerly enacted in their respective Kingdoms. To these he added several of his own, adapted to the Circumstances Things were

\*<sup>1</sup> This is to be understood of the Inhabitants of *South-Wales*, who tho' they had been reduc'd before, observing *Alfred* engag'd in other Wars, had thrown off their Obedience. As for *North-Wales*, the *Ordovices*, People of a fierce and troublesome Spirit, are scarce to be reckon'd entirely subdued before *Edward the First's* Time, 200 Years after the *Norman Conquest*. *Spelman*.

\*<sup>2</sup> It is said that *Gregour* King of the *Scots* obey'd him and serv'd him in all his Wars, and that *Donald* his Successor aided him with 5000 Horse and died in his Service. *Spelman*. *Hollingsh.* p. 128.

\*<sup>3</sup> With the *Decalogue* at their Head.

\*<sup>4</sup> And likewise *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who was the First that reduc'd the *Saxon Laws* into Writing.



were then in. One may observe throughout his Laws, an ardent Zeal for Justice, and a sincere Desire of rooting out all Oppression and Violence \*. They were indeed *mild*, if compar'd to those of later Ages, seeing they punish'd most Offences by *Mullets* and *Fines* \*. But the Strictness wherewith *Alfred* caus'd them to be observ'd, counterbalanc'd their Lenity. If with respect to *private* Persons the Rigour of the Law was somewhat abated, it was not so with regard to corrupt Magistrates; to such *Alfred* was ever inexorable. He was very sensible it would be in vain to oblige his Subjects to an exact Observance of the Laws, if Care was not taken, that the Magistrates should give them a good Example. It is said, that within the Compass of one Year he executed four and forty Judges for not doing Justice \*.

By

\* If King *Alfred*, as is suppos'd, drew up a compleat Body of Law, 'tis now lost: for Those lately publish'd by Dr. *Wilkins*, (who has given us all the Laws extant from *Ethelbert*, the first Christian Law-giver in England, down to the *Magna Charta* of Henry III) fall short of an entire System of Law. *Alfred's* Laws are rank'd under two Heads. 1. *The Laws of Alfred*, 40 in Number. 2. *The League between Alfred and Guthrun*, which seems to be no more than Articles of Pacification, and Conditions on which *Guthrun* was to hold *East-Anglia*. The 37th Law secures the Entail of Estates, and enacts, *That Those who have Book-Land (or Estates in Land) left them by their Parents, shou'd not alienate it from their Heirs, provided there cou'd be proof made that he that first granted the Estate, settled it upon Condition of Non-alienation*. Another Law forbids, *the Buying a Man, a Horse, or an Ox, without a Voucher to warrant the Sale*. The Occasion of this Law was This; when the *Danes* first settled in England, it was a common Practice between the two Nations, not only to steal Horses and Oxen, but also Men and Women, and sell them to one another. By which means Owners not only lost their Cattle, but Men were wrongfully made Slaves. To remedy which this Law was enacted. Afterwards *Fairs and Markets* obtain'd the same Privilege, *Vouchers* had. But as to Horses, the Frands were so common, that the Statute of 31 Eliz. 12. reviv'd the Express Law of *Alfred*.

\* 2 The 40th Law sets a certain Value upon every Limb and Member, as well as upon every Person, from a King to a Bond-slave.

\* 3 He us'd to re-examine the *Causess* try'd in his Absence, and in case he found any Injustice done out of *Favour* or *Interest*, he punish'd the Judges severely. If they pleaded Ignorance, he sharply reprimanded them, and ask'd how they durst presume to take a Commission to de-

X x

termine



Institution  
of Juries.

By these Proceedings sufficient Care seem'd to be taken of hindring the *Great* from oppressing the *Small*. But as *Alfred* was very sensible the Spirit of Oppression naturally grew upon Men in Authority, he sought out Means to prevent its having any Effect. To this End, he order'd, that in all *Criminal Actions*, twelve Men, chosen for that Purpose, shou'd determine the Matter, and that the Judge shou'd give Sentence according to their *Verdict*. This Privilege, which the *English* enjoy to this Day, is doubtless the noblest and most valuable any Subjects can have. An *Englishman* accus'd of any Crime, is to be try'd only by his *Peers*, that is, by Persons of his own Rank and Condition. By this means, he is out of all Danger of being oppress'd, how powerful soever his Accusers may be. These twelve Men, chosen with the Approbation of the Person accus'd, are call'd by the Collective Name of *Jury*. These are they who determine about the Life or Death of the Accused. Happy the People, that enjoy so glorious a Privilege!

Division of  
the King-  
dom into  
Shires,  
Hundreds,  
and Ty-  
things.

The Wars had caus'd such Disorders and Licentiousness in the Kingdom, that *Vagabonds* and *Vagrants* every where abounded, who committed all manner of Crimes with Impunity, their poor and mean Condition screening them from Justice. As they had no settled Abode, upon having done any thing worthy of Punishment, they shifted their Quarters, and went where it was a difficult Matter to meet with them. *Alfred*, beholding with Indignation honest Men thus expos'd to the Insults of Villains, was extremely desirous to put a stop to so great an Evil. After having consulted those, whom he judg'd capable of giving him Advice in this Matter, he took this Method to prevent any Person from living in his Dominions, without being oblig'd to give an Account of his Actions. He divided all *England* into *Shires* \*

Ingulph.  
Malm. l. 2.

or

termine about *Life* and *Property*, when they knew themselves so wretchedly unqualified! and order'd them either to know better or quit their Post. Thus the *Earls* and *Great Men* rather than be turn'd out of their Office with Disgrace, applied themselves to Study. See *Mirror of Justices*, c. 20. and *Malm. l. 2. p. 25.*

\* From the Saxon word *Scyre* (i.e.) to branch or divide.

or *Counties* (a), the *Counties*, into *Hundreds*, and the *Hundreds*, into *Tythings*. This being done, all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom were oblig'd to belong to some *Tything*; whoever did not, were look'd upon as Vagabonds and, as such, were denied the Protection of the Law. Every Householder was to answer for his Wife, his Children under fifteen Years of Age, and his Domesticks. If any one fell under a Suspicion of doing ill, he was oblig'd to give Security for his good Behaviour: In case he cou'd find none, the *Tything* clapt him up in Prison, to prevent their being liable to the Punishment, he shou'd incur by his Faults (b). Thus the *Householders* being responsible for their Families, the *Tything* for the *Householders*, the *Hundred* for the *Tythings*, and the *Counties* for the *Hundreds*, every one was watchful over his Neighbour's Actions. If a Stranger, guilty of any Crime, made his Escape, Information was taken of the House where he lodg'd, and if he had been there three days, the Master of the Family was condemn'd to pay his *Fine*. But in case he had not staid so long as three days, the Householder was acquitted upon making Oath he was not privy to his Crime. I might add here abundance of Particulars not so entertaining to *Foreigners*, as to the *English*, who behold with Pleasure, in these Regulations, the Origin of those Laws they so happily live under at this present Time. But it is sufficient to say that these Institutions produc'd such good Order and Tranquillity, as had never before been known in *England*.

In fine, to prevent the Kingdom from being infested any more by foreign Enemies, *Alfred* dispos'd the *Militia* in such a manner as enabled him to make head against an Invasion in case the *Danes* had a mind to renew their Incurfions. He kept, in each County, a Body of Troops always in a readiness to march under the Conduct of the *Earl* or Governor. Upon the first Notice of an Invasion, the *Earls* had orders to join Forces at certain Places, under the Command

Alfred regulates the Militia.

X x 2

of

(a) *Spelman* says, that *Alfred* was not the first that divided the Kingdom into *Shires*, but only fix'd their Number and Limits.

(b) There is much the same Regulation in *China*. See *Hist. of Menagach*.



of a *Generalissimo* appointed by the King. By this means, together with a numerous Fleet which was always ready to put to Sea, or cruising round the Island, he kept the foreign *Danes* so in Awe, that during the Rest of his Reign, they durst not attempt to make a Descent. And for the same Reason, those that were settled in the Island, found themselves constrain'd to be quiet.

He causes  
trading  
Ships to be  
built.

When by these wise Regulations, *Alfred* had provided for the Safety of the State, he endeavour'd to make the People relish the Fruits of Peace, by introducing Trade and Commerce. He order'd a good Number of Merchant-ships to be built, which he let out to the principal Merchants, for the Encouragement of Traffick. So that by degrees the *English* were in a Condition to repair by this Means the Losses they had sustain'd by so long a War. It is affirm'd that some of these Merchants traded as far as the *East-Indies*, from whence they imported several things, before unknown to the *English* (a) \*.

Trades to  
the East-  
Indies.

Alfred in-  
vites sever-  
al Learned  
Men into  
England.

After this great Prince had thus regulated Matters, he turn'd his Thoughts to the *Arts* and *Sciences*, which the Wars had almost entirely frighted from the Land. To this he invited over, from foreign Countries, Learned Men, to whom he gave Pensions, and dispers'd them in the several *Dioceses*, to instruct the People. But not satisfied with this, and desirous of having in his own Kingdom a *Seminary* of Learning, he founded four *Schools* or *Colleges* at

(a) It is not likely they traded to the *Indies* by Sea, at a time the *Mariner's Compass* was not found out. \* You have a large Account of this Matter in *Spelman's* life of *Alfred*, l. 2. c. 82. *Malmsbury* says, he sent a Present to the *Indies* in honour of St. *Thomas*. *Sigelin* Bishop of *Sherborn* was employ'd to deliver it, who perform'd the Voyage successfully, and brought back *Precious Stones*, *Perfumes*, and other *Commodities*, which were then great *Curiosities* in *England*. It is thought *Alfred* caus'd with these *Diamonds* a more *August* and *Imperial* sort of *Crown* than had been us'd before to be compos'd. For in the arched Roof in the Cloisters of *Westminster Abbey*, where the antient *Regalia* of the Kingdom are kept, upon a Box, the Cabinet of the most antient *Crown*, there are these Words: *Hæc est principalior Corona cum qua Coronabantur Reges Alfredus, Edwardus, &c.* This *Crown* is of a very antient Work, with Flowers adorned with Stones of somewhat a plain Setting. *Spelman*.



at Oxford In the first, the Abbot Neots, and Grimbold read Divinity. In the Second, Asserius, a Benedictine Monk, taught Grammar and Rhetorick. In the Third, John, a Monk of St. David's, set up a Chair for Logick, Arithmetick, and Musick. In the Fourth, Johannes Scotus profess'd Geometry and Astronomy. This Last had given him the Sirname of Erigena, that is, the Irishman, from the word Erin or Iren, the true Name of Ireland. He was call'd Scotus no doubt, upon the same Account, the Inhabitants of Ireland being then term'd Scots. It is related of this Johannes Scotus, so famous in the Republick of Letters, that he was stabb'd to death by his Pupils with Pen-knives. But some say, he taught in Malmesbury-Abby, and not at Oxford \*. We find moreover among the Learned Men, encourag'd by Alfred, Plegmund, a Mercian, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and some others, whose Names, as they will not serve to make them more known, it is needless to repeat. It is also unnecessary to stay to examine, whether the Colleges founded by Alfred, were the first Foundations of the University of Oxford, or whether before that, there were at a Place call'd Greeklade the like Schools, which were remov'd from thence to this City. Besides that the Dispute wou'd lead me too far, it wou'd be of no great Advantage to go to the Bottom of it, considering how few concern themselves about it. It is enough to observe, that from these small Beginnings, the University of Oxford, famous throughout all Europe, has grown up to its present Height.

386.

He founds  
the Univer-  
sity of Ox-  
ford.

Tho' Alfred was very capable himself of knowing the best means of putting his Designs for the Good of his People in Execution, yet he consulted others that were eminent for their Abilities, and paid a great Deference to their Opinions. He had order'd Matters so, that all Resolutions relating

Original of  
the several  
Councils.

\* Camden says, Alfred founded but three Halls or Schools; the first at the End of High-street for Grammarians, was call'd Little-University-Hall; the second, in School-street for Philosophy, was stil'd Less-University-Hall; and the third in High-street more to the West than the First, for Divinity, was nam'd Great-University Hall, now University-Colledge.

lating to the Publick were to pass thro' three several *Councils*. The First was a *Secret Council*, to which none but those the King had a particular Esteem for, were admitted. Here all Affairs were first debated that were to be laid before the second *Council*, which consisted of Bishops, *Earls*, *Viscounts*, *Judges*, and some of the Principal *Thanes*, call'd afterwards, *Barons*. This resembled the present *Privy-Council*. None belong'd to it but those the King was pleas'd to appoint. The Third was a general *Council* or *Assembly* of the Nation, call'd in *Saxon*, *Wittena-gemot*, to which *Quality* and *Offices* gave a Right to sit, independent of the King. This Assembly, stil'd at present the *Parliament*, a Name taken from the *French*, was compos'd of the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the *Bishops*, *Earls*, *Viscounts* or *High-Sheriffs* of the Counties, and the *Thanes* of the first Rank or *Barons*. It is now disputed with great Warmth, whether the People had a Right to send *Representatives* to this Assembly. But I shall refer the Discussion of that Point to another Place. However this be, we behold in these three *Councils* the Original of the *Secret* and *Privy Councils*, as well as the Antiquity of *Parliaments*. These *Councils*, and particularly the *Wittena-gemot*, which was conven'd generally once a Year, being for the most part held at *London*, it is easy to conceive This gave that City a greater Air of Splendor than it had before. The *Danes*, who had been Masters of it for some time, had demolish'd it in such a Manner that it was hardly to be known. *Alfred* took a pride in beautifying it and augmenting its Privileges. The Figure it made afterwards, and still continues to make, is in some Measure owing to the Care of that Prince.

Alfred introduces the way of building with Brick and Stone.

After having regulated in the best Manner all important Matters, *Alfred*, who had always the Benefit of his People in View, thought it his Duty not to neglect one thing in it self useful, and to the Kingdom very ornamental, which was to bring the *English* to build their Houses in a stronger and more regular Manner than they had hitherto done. At that time, they hardly made use of any Thing but Timber in building. If a House was built with any other



other Materials, it was look'd upon as a sort of a Wonder. *Alfred* having rais'd his Palaces with Stone or Brick, the *Nobility* by degrees began to imitate his Example. But the Generality of the People came not in to that Way of building till several Ages after. The Monasteries, we may believe, which had been destroy'd by the *Danes*, and were afterwards rebuilt, had their share in this Improvement of *Architecture*, as Places that were held in greater Veneration in the next than in that *Century*. The *Abbies* however were not inhabited till the following Reigns. At the time I am speaking of, they were almost quite deserted, the *Danish* Wars having occasion'd the Alienation of the Estates design'd for the Maintenance of the Monks, hardly was there a Man to be found that was willing to embrace a Monastick Life. The which is a clear Evidence, that it was not so much Devotion, as the Hopes of being maintain'd without working, that fill'd the *Religious* Houses. During the Reign of *Alfred*, the Backwardness to a *Monkish* Life was so great, that the King was forc'd to stock the Monasteries with Foreigners, there being scarce such a thing as a Monk in the Kingdom. But after his Death, when the Estates were return'd to the Monasteries, the Zeal for that Way of Life began to rouse again. Whereas in *Alfred's* Days, there were more Monasteries than Monks, in a few Years after, the Monks were grown so numerous and encreas'd daily in such a Manner, that there were not Religious Houses enough to contain them.

Hitherto we have consider'd *Alfred* so taken up with *His private* the Care of the Publick, that he seems to have had no *Life*.

Time or Leisure to mind his own private Concerns. But we must have quite another Notion of this Prince. He was one of those happy *Genius's*, to whom every Thing they do seems natural, and who are continually employ'd, without appearing to be so. He knew too well the Value of Time, to lose any Part of it. So far was he from being like most Princes, who imagine their high Station gives them the Privilege of spending all their Time in Diversions and Trifles, that he endeavour'd to make the best of every Moment. Whilst he lay hid in the Isle of *A-*

*thelney*, *The Distribution of his Time.*



*thelney*, he made a Vow to set apart for the Service of God, the third Part of his Time, as soon as he should be restored to a State of Tranquillity. Accordingly he was punctual to his Vow, by allotting eight Hours every Day to Acts of Devotion, eight Hours to publick Affairs, and as many to Sleep, Study and necessary Refreshment. As the Use of *Clocks* and *Hour-Glasses* was not as yet introduc'd into *England*, he measur'd the Time by the means of Wax-Candles, mark'd with circular Lines of divers Colours, which serv'd as so many *Hour-lines* \*. And to prevent the Wind from making them burn unsteadily, it is said he invented the Expedient of enclosing them in *Lanthorns* \*<sup>r</sup>. But it is a Question whether this Invention be of so *modern* a Date.

Origin of  
Lanthorns  
in England.

His Charities.

and Inclination for  
Study.

After.

His Charities were very extraordinary considering his Revenues, and so much the more praise-worthy, as they were done in private, and without the least Ostentation. He educated, at Court or at *Oxford*, a great many young Noblemen, who were instructed in all Things necessary to render them one Day serviceable to their Country. But this was not the only Way he took to make the *Arts* and *Sciences* flourish: His own Example greatly contributed towards it, for never was Prince more given to his *Studies*. The Progress he had made in *Learning*, notwithstanding his being so long taken up with his Wars and the Administration of the Government, demonstrate how well he improv'd his Intervals from publick Business. The Author of his Life assures us, he was the best *Saxon* Poet

\* He order'd just such a quantity of Wax to be made into 6 Candles, each twelve Inches long, with the Division of the Inches mark'd out distinctly. These being lighted one after another, did orderly burn 4 hours apiece, that is, every three Inches an Hour, so that the whole 6 Candles lasted just 24 hours, the watching of which was committed to the Keepers of his Chapel, whose Office it was to put him in Mind how each hour pass'd. *Spelman*.

\*<sup>r</sup> Glass was then a great Rarity in *England*, so that the King was forc'd to order some fine white Horn to be scrap'd so Thin as to become transparent, and put into close Frames of Wood, which defended the Candles from the injury of the Wind. Thus *Lanthorns*, tho' of Vulgar Use and Estimation, were the Invention of a King. *Spelman*.

Poet of his Time, an excellent *Grammarian, Orator, Philosopher, Architect, Geometrician, and Historian*. He compos'd several Works, that were in great Esteem. Among others, he translated into *Saxon, Gregory's Pastoral, Boethius de Consolatione* \*, and *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* \*. What a Shame and Reproach was it for the *English* Nation to be so ignorant, when they had so learn'd a King at their Head? This excellent Prince complain'd bitterly that from the *Humber* to the *Thames* there was not a Priest that understood the *Liturgy* in his *Mother Tongue*, and that from the *Thames* to the *Sea*, there was not a Man that knew how to translate the easiest Piece of *Latin*. This universal Ignorance and the little Relish the *English* had then for the *Arts and Sciences*, put the King upon taking all opportunities of earnestly inviting over into his Dominions, Foreigners that were eminent in their Professions. He took particular Care to have always about him the most noted Workmen and *Architects*, and to keep them employ'd, with the sole view of improving their Skill. He plac'd in the *Chairs* at *Oxford* Men that were famous for their *Learning*, and allow'd them handsom Salaries. His Aim was to stir up the Emulation of the *English*, and provoke them to use their Endeavours to come out of that State of gross Ignorance they were in. The Fame of his great Wisdom and Piety having reach'd as far as *Rome*, the *Pope* sent him a large quantity of *Relicks*, and upon his Account granted some New Privileges to the *English College*. *Abel* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, willing to shew him some Marks of his Esteem, sent him a Present also of *Relicks*, which the King receiv'd with great Satisfaction.

\* Publish'd at *Oxford An. 1698. 8vo.* by *Christopher Rawlinson*, Gentleman-Commoner of *Queen's College*. Some say it was translated by *Wenefrid*, Bishop of *Worcester*; but *Dr. Plot* tells us *Alfred* did it at *Woodstock*. *Alfred* was so delighted with this Book, that he always carried it about him in his Bosom.

\* \* Publish'd by *Mr. Whelock*. who observes, 'tis rather a *Paraphrase* than a *Translation*. He is likewise said to have translated the *Old and New Testament*. However 'tis on all hands agreed he undertook a *Version* of the *Psalms*, but died when 'twas about half finish'd. See *Spelman's Life of Alfred. l. 3. c. 100.*



The Distribution of his Revenues.

It is time now to take a view of the Manner of his ordering his *Domestick* Concerns, where his Prudence was no less visible, than in his Management of *State* Affairs. He made three Divisions of his Attendants, who were to wait monthly by Turns; A Custom, tho' not practis'd then in other Courts, was afterwards follow'd by other Princes. As for his Revenues, he divided them into two Parts, one of which was wholly assign'd to charitable Uses, and subdivided into four Portions. The first for Alms to the Poor. The second for the Maintenance of the Monasteries he had founded. The third for the Subsistence of the Professors and Scholars at *Oxford*. The fourth for poor Monks, as well Foreigners as *English*. The other Half was thrown into three Divisions; one of which was expended in his Family. Another in paying his *Architects* and other curious Workmen; and the rest was bestow'd in Pensions upon Strangers, whom he had invited to his Court for the Encouragement and Instruction of his Subjects. When I speak of his Revenues, I mean his own *hereditary* Estate. It was not Customary, in those Days, for Princes to levy Taxes upon the People, in order to squander the Money in Luxury and Extravagancies.

What has hitherto been said of this Illustrious Prince, is sufficient to make known the principal Events in his Reign, and to give an Idea of his personal Qualities. I might add many more Particulars, since his *Life* alone affords Matter enough for a large *Volume*. But I believe I may venture to stop here, without doing any Injury to the Memory of this Monarch, who is justly distinguish'd with the Sirname of *Great*. No Historian charges him with any Vice, but all unanimously agree to represent him as one of the most glorious Princes that ever wore the Crown\*.

He

\* We have the Sum of his Character given us by a Great Man, to the following Effect. O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Astonishment of all Ages! If we reflect on the devout Part of him, he seems to have liv'd always in a *Cloyster*. If on his Conduct and Exploits in the *Field*, one wou'd think he had spent his Days in the *Camp*. If on his Writings



He died in 900, in the 52d Year of his Age, after a Reign of 28 Years and 6 Months, the greatest Part whereof was spent in Wars and Troubles, and the rest in Peace\*. His History shows that both in War and Peace he govern'd with Prudence and Steadiness. But what chiefly distinguishes him from the Generality of Princes, was his *Sincere* and *Heartly* Love for his People. Of this he gave Demonstration, not by Words only, as is too commonly the Case, but by real and substantial Deeds. Accordingly never was Prince better belov'd by his Subjects. No doubt their mutual Affection was a great Means of putting the *Danes* out of all hopes of shaking off his Yoke, when once they had submitted to it.

900.  
His Death.

*Alfred* had several Children by *Alswitha* his Queen. Some of them, particularly *Edmund* his eldest Son, whom he design'd for his Successor, died before him. Of those that surviv'd him, *Edward* mounted the Throne after him. *Ethelward*, who was bred a Scholar at *Oxford*, was a very learned Man, and died in the 40th Year of his Age, in 922. *Elfleda* his Eldest Daughter, Wife to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, became very famous in her Brother *Edward's* Reign. *Alswitha* or *Ethelswitha*, call'd also *Eltrude* by the *Flemish* Writers, married *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. *Ethelgitha*, who chose to be a *Nun*, was made *Abbess* of *Shaftsbury*-Nunnery founded by the King her Father\*.

Y y 2

EDWARD

Writings and Studies, one wou'd conclude the *University* had ingross'd him. And lastly, if we regard his Prudence and Skill in the Administration of Government, he seems to have made *Law* and *Politicicks* his whole Study.

\* He was born at *Wanating*, now *Wantage* in *Berkshire*, which was formerly a *Royal Mannor*. His body was buried first at *Winchester*, next remov'd into the Church of the *New Monastery*; and lastly, his Body, Monument, Church and Monastery were all remov'd (about 200 Years after) without the *North-Gate* of the City, since call'd the *Hide*.

\* Besides this *Nunnery*, *Alfred* built two *Monasteries*, one at *Ashelney*, and another at *Winchester*.

## 7. EDWARD the Elder.

The State of  
the King-  
dom.

WHEN EDWARD ascended the Throne, *England* was almost equally divided between the *English* and *Danes*. The *Danes* inhabited *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia* from whence they had outed the *English* during the Wars. The *English* were still in Possession of *Wessex*, containing the antient Kingdom of *Essex*, and all the Country lying *South* of the *Thames*. As for *Mercia* it was peopled with a Mixture of *Danes* and *English* together, but in such a Manner that the *English* were the Majority in the *South* and *West* Parts, and the *Danes* in the *East* and *North*. During the latter Part of *Alfred's* Reign, the *Danes* had been very quiet, out of a Fear of provoking that Prince to invade the Country they had got possession of. Besides, they were not at all displeas'd with enjoying some Respite, in order to fortify their Settlements in *England*. For this Reason, the going off of their Countrymen was to them rather an Occasion of Joy than Sorrow. Indeed, they wou'd never have attain'd to their Ends, if the War had been continually renew'd by the Arrival of other *Danes*, who, under the Name of Friends, wou'd have been as incommodious to them as to the *English* themselves. The Retreat of these dangerous Guests, and the profound Tranquillity the just Administration of *Alfred* had spread over the whole Kingdom, having given them time to cultivate their Lands, and opportunity of augmenting their Riches by Commerce, they began to entertain Thoughts of shaking off the *English* Yoke. Accordingly, they laid hold on the first favorable juncture to excite new Troubles in *England*, not doubting in the least but that they wou'd prove the Means of putting their Designs in Execution.

I have

I have observ'd that King *Ethelbert*, Elder Brother to *Ethelward*, left behind him two Infant Sons. *Ethelward*, the eldest, being come, at the Death of *Alfred*, to Man's Estate, thought it was Time to assert his Right to the Crown. He pretended, that *Ethelwulph*, his Grandfather, had acted with Injustice in leaving his Kingdom to all his Sons successively, to the Detriment of the Children of the Eldest. That granting he had a Power to do this, there was no Reason the Succession, after the Death of the four Brothers, shou'd continue in the Family of the Youngest, when the Heirs of the second were alive. That besides, at most he cou'd intail the Kingdom of *Kent* only, which was all he was in possession of, and not the Kingdom of *Wesssex*, which belong'd not to him when he made his *Will*. These Reasons appear'd very plausible; but however he cou'd meet with no Encouragement from the *English*. Doubtless, the great Veneration they had for *Alfred's* Memory, made them adhere to his Son, or it may be they did not question *Ethelwulph's* Power of settling the Succession as he thought fit. The antient Historians not having clear'd up this Point, it wou'd be very difficult to decide the Matter by the Publick Laws of the *Saxons*, which are not sufficiently known. And therefore, to confine my self to the bare Relation of Facts, I shall only say, that *Ethelward*, finding his Country-men were unwilling to support his Title, he was forc'd to apply himself to the *Danes*, who, in all probability, had set him upon this Undertaking.

*Ethelward*  
pretends to  
the Crown.

Ann. Sax.  
H. Hunt.  
l. v.

*Ethelward* began his Designs upon the Crown, with seizing upon *Winburn*, a fortified Town in *Dorsetshire*. He expected to be attack'd; but was in hopes, if that Place made never so little Resistance, the *Danes* wou'd find *Edward* so much Work in other Parts, that it wou'd not be possible for him to retake it. But his Hopes were all in vain. *Edward* came upon him with such Expedition, that he was like to have surpriz'd him in *Winburn*, before he had taken any necessary Measures for his Defence. He had hardly time to get out of the Town and to go and cast himself upon the *Danes*, who were up in Arms. Upon this

*Ethelward*  
takes *Win-*  
*burn*:

Loses it a-  
gain,  
and flies to  
the *Danes*,  
who pro-  
claim him  
King.



this Prince's coming among them, they proclaim'd him King of *England*, pretending, as they were in Possession of half the Kingdom, they had as much Right to make a King, as the *West-Saxons*.

902.  
The Danes  
abandon  
him.

The Retreat of *Ethelward* among the *Danes*, made the King sensible he was about to be involv'd in a troublesome War, the Consequences whereof he had Cause to dread. Not that he thought himself unable to cope with the *Danes*, settled in *England*, but because he was apprehensive the Foreign *Danes* wou'd take this opportunity to bring again on the Kingdom its former Calamities. This made him resolve to do his utmost to put an End to the War, before the *Danes* cou'd call in their Countrymen to their Assistance. Immediately after taking *Winburn*, he march'd towards *Northumberland*, at the Head of his Army, which daily encreas'd, by Troops flocking to it from all Parts. The *Danes* were astonish'd at his Expedition, and finding they were not in a Condition to resist him, were constrain'd to abandon and banish from their Country the Prince they had taken upon them to protect. They had soon reason to repent of espousing his Cause, or of not defending it better. This fruitless Attempt of theirs cost them several Strong-Holds in *Mercia*, which *Edward* deem'd necessary to secure. He did not think proper to chastise them any farther at this time, lest the War, which seem'd to be over, shou'd break out afresh, if he reduc'd them to a Necessity of sending for Succours from *Denmark*. He was satisfied with repairing some Fortresses in *Mercia*, in order to reduce them into a narrower Compais. *Ethelred*, Earl of *Mercia*, and the Princess *Elfreda*, his Wife, were very serviceable to the King in this War, by making head against the *Mercian Danes*, and preventing the *Welsh* from coming to their Aid. It is related of *Elfreda*, that having had a very hard Labour with her first Child, she took up a Resolution never to come into the like Case again, and was as good as her word. From thence-forward she wholly devoted herself to Arms, and like a true *Amazon* gave proofs of her Courage in all the Wars her Brother had with the *Danes*. She was generally styl'd [not only *Lady* and *Queen*, but]

903.  
The Com-  
mendation  
of *Elfreda*  
the King's  
Sister.

but] *King*, in Admiration of her *Manlike* and *Royal* Abilities.

In the mean time, *Ethelward* tho' absent, was not idle. Upon leaving *England*, he had applied to *France*, and obtain'd a powerful Aid of *Normans*, with whom he came and landed in *Essex*, which Kingdom he with Ease became Master of. *Edward*, who had not mistrusted his Enemy wou'd have been able to make a fresh Attempt upon the Crown so suddenly, had taken care only to guard *Mercia* against the *Northumbrian Danes*, imagining *Essex* had been in no Danger. The Arrival of the *Normans* encourag'd the *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglian Danes* to take up Arms again in favour of *Ethelward*, and rushing into *Mercia* ravag'd the Country inhabited by the *English* in a merciless Manner. *Edward*, not without extreme Regret, saw himself forc'd to bear their Insults, till he cou'd draw his Troops together, whom he had dismiss'd, not conceiving he shou'd have occasion for them so soon again. The Moment he was at the Head of his Army, he made the *Danes* pay dear for the Mischief they had done the *English*. In this War, he gain'd so many Victories, that the *Danes* lost all Hopes of throwing off the *English* Yoke, and his Cousin, of mounting the Throne. At length, *Ethelward* being slain in Battle \*, and the *Danish* Forces considerably diminish'd, they were not in a Condition to carry on the War with that Vigor they had begun it. However they continued the War two Years after *Ethelward's* Death. But after having in vain endeavour'd to repair their Losses, they sued for Peace; which *Edward* readily granted them, on Condition they wou'd acknowledge him for Sovereign, as they had done his Father, and that the *Normans* shou'd forthwith return to *France*.

This Peace cou'd not last long between two Nations so near Neighbours, and so exasperated against one another.

Accord-

*Ethelward*  
returns into  
*England*  
with Nor-  
man Troops.

The Danes  
rise in his  
favour.

905  
*Ethelward*  
slain.

Pont. Hist.  
Dan.

907  
*Edward*  
makes a  
Peace with  
the Danes.

The War is  
renew'd.  
910.

\* The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Battle was obstinate and bloody on both Sides; the King lost the Earls *Sigulf* and *Sigelm*, with many more of his Nobles. On the *Danes* Part were slain *Eolrick* their King, with a greater Number than of the *English*, tho' they had the Honour of keeping the Field and burying their Dead. *Sax. Ann.* 905.

912  
Ethelred  
Earl of  
Mercia dies.

Accordingly after three Years the War broke out afresh \*. It prov'd fatal to the *Danes*, who lost in a very little Time two Battles. *Edward*, who knew how to improve his Victories, took from them several Towns in *Mercia*, and at length drove them quite out of that Kingdom. Then it was that *Ethelred*, who had all along bravely seconded the King his Brother-in-law, became in reality *Earl of Mercia*: but he was not long so. He was taken out of the World by Death, almost as soon as *Mercia* was united to his Government. This *Earl* was not barely *Governor* or *Viceroy of Mercia*: He had some particular Power, the Nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the Historians that speak of it. *Malmsbury* says, he held the Country as a *Fief* of the Crown, much in the same Manner as the *German Princes* hold their Territories of the Empire (a). Of this *Elfleda* his Widow's yeilding up to the King her Brother the Cities of *London* and *Oxford* is a farther Proof. If *Ethelred* had been only *Governor* or *Viceroy*, *Elfleda* wou'd have had no Right to resign up these two Places, since they wou'd not have belong'd to her.

*Elfleda* having taken upon her the Government of *Mercia*, after *Ethelred's* Death, followed the Example of her Father and Brother, in fortifying Towns, in order to take away from the *Danes* all Hopes of settling in *Mercia* again. Among the Places she repair'd or fortify'd, these are the Chief, *Warwick*, *Tamworth*, *Wedensbury*, *Charbury*, *Eadsbury*, and *Chester*. This last had lain in Ruins for some Time\*. When *Elfleda* had finish'd her Fortifications, she

\* The Annals say not by whom the Treaty was broken; but *Hoveden* lays it to the Charge of the *Danes*.

(a) *Ethelred* bore the Title of *Subregulus Merciorum*. *Selden* affirms, *Subregulus* is the same with *Earldorman* or *Count*. *Du Cange* says, it signifies sometimes *Earl*, sometimes *Semi-Rex* or *Demi-King*. In this last Sense it must be understood with respect to *Ethelred*, according to this Passage of *Malmsbury*, *Edwardus duo Regna Merciorum & Vifi-Saxonum conjunxerat, Merciorum nomine tenus, quippe commendatum Duci Ethelredo*.

\* It was demolish'd by *Ecfrid* King of *Northumberland*, and afterwards by the *Danes*.



she carried her Arms into *Wales*, and after several Victories, oblig'd the *Welsh* to become her Tributaries.

The Year 915, as some affirm, is memorable for the founding of the *University of Cambridge* by King *Edward*. But all agree not to the Truth of this Fact. Some maintain, the Origin of this famous University is of a much later Date. Others on the contrary, carry its Antiquity a great deal farther back, and attribute the founding of it to one *Cantaber*, a *Spaniard*, 315 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. Some again, dropping almost a thousand Years, are contented with asserting, that *Sebert*, who reign'd in *Essex* in the Beginning of the VIIth Century, was the first Founder. I shall not take upon me to decide this Controversy, which the Emulation between *Oxford* and *Cambridge* has carried to a great Height. It is sufficient to have briefly mention'd the Diversity of Opinions in this Matter. However I can't forbear observing, that if the *University of Cambridge* was in Being in King *Sebert's* time, or even in *Alfred's*, it is very surprizing, that neither *Bede* in his *Ecclesiastical History*, nor *Asserius* in his *Life of Alfred*, shou'd take the least Notice of it.

915  
The found-  
ing of the  
University  
of Cam-  
bridge.

From the Year 910, when the War between the *English* and *Danes* broke out afresh, to the Year 922, we find in History nothing but a long Series of Battles, the Relation whereof cannot but be unpleasant to the Reader: I shall therefore without any Scruple pass them over in Silence, and mention only their most remarkable Consequences.

The Princess *Elfreda*, Sister to King *Edward*, died during this War \*, leaving behind her an only Daughter nam'd *Elfwina*, then marriageable. *Elfreda* had succeeded her Husband in the Sovereignty of *Mercia*: I say, *Sovereignty*, because it is certain it was more than a bare *Government*. But not to give wrong Notions of this Matter, it will be proper to consider the State of *Mercia* at the time I am

918.  
The Princess  
Elfreda dies.

\* *Ingulph* says, that in respect of the Cities she built, the Castles she fortifyed, and the Armies she manag'd, it might have been thought she had chang'd her Sex. She died at *Tamworth* in *Staffordshire*, and was buried in the Porch of the Monastery of *St. Peter* in *Glocester*, which she and her Husband had built.

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speaking of. By their not having clearly express'd themselves, Historians have left us very much in the Dark as to this Point. It must be remembred, that *Ethelred*, with the Title of *Earl of Mercia*, was in possession only of *London* and the adjacent Country, or at most of the County of *Middlesex*; and that *London*, the *Capital* formerly of the Kingdom of *Essex*, was become the *Metropolis* of *Mercia*. In Process of Time, *Ethelred's* narrow Territories being very much enlarg'd by his Conquests from the *Mercian Danes*, the Present *Alfred* had made his Son-in-law was become so considerable, that it might be look'd upon with a Jealous Eye by a new King, and make him apprehensive that *Ethelred's* Successors wou'd grow too powerful. However whilst *Elfleda* liv'd, *Edward* seem'd not to be jealous of her good Fortune, and had no thoughts of dispossessing her of what her own Valour had not a little contributed to acquire. But after her Death, he did not think fit to leave *Elfwina* in possession of a *Demefn*, which put it in her Power to raise new Troubles in *England* by some ill-contriv'd Match. And indeed there are Historians who affirm, that the young Princess had resolv'd upon marrying a *Danish* Prince, and that her Uncle therefore depriv'd her of her Dominions. He was afraid no doubt, she wou'd introduce the Enemies of the Kingdom into those very Places, that had with so much difficulty been wrested out of their Hands. However this be, after *Elfleda's* Death, he seiz'd upon *Mercia*, and carried his Niece along with him into *Wessex*. In all likelihood she pass'd the rest of her Days in a *Nunnery*. Whether *Elfwina's* Design of marrying a *Dane* was Matter of Fact, or whether an Invention to vindicate the King in his Proceedings against his Niece, it equally proves what was before observ'd, that *Ethelred* and *Elfleda* were Proprietors of *Mercia*. If they had been no more than Governors, *Edward* wou'd have had no Occasion to alledge her intended Marriage as a Reason of his depriving her of the Government; as, on the other Hand, there wou'd have been no necessity of his inventing such a Pretence, supposing there had been no Foundation for it. I have enlarg'd a little

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In their Wars with *Edward*, the *Danes* daily lost Ground, whilst the King, who knew how to make the best of his Advantages, followed them close, without giving them the least Breathing-Time. By which means he at length compell'd them to submit, and own him once more for their Sovereign. The *Mercian Danes* were the first that threw down their Arms. The *East-Anglians* submitted soon after, without coming to Terms. The *Northumbrians*, as being the most powerful, were the last that came in. The Progress *Edward* had made in the other Provinces, made them perceive it wou'd be better for them to submit, than continue a War, which cou'd not but end in their Ruin. They were govern'd by three Kings. *Sithrick* and *Nigel* his Brother reign'd beyond the *Tyne*, and *Reginald*, who kept his Residence at *York*, rul'd all the Country lying between the *Tyne* and the *Humber*. Some time after, *Sithrick* having slain his Brother *Nigel*, became sole King of the *North*.

The State of the *Welsh* depended in some Measure on *Edward* that of the *Danes*. As long as the *Danes* were in Arms, the Kings of *England*, left the *Welsh* to the peaceable Enjoyment of their Liberty. But as soon as they had Nothing to fear from the *North*, they seldom fail'd to attack them. Thus we find *Elfreda*, assisted by the Troops of the King her Brother, compell'd them to become her Tributaries. After the Death of that Princess the *Welsh* endeavour'd to free themselves from the Tribute she had laid upon them, and in order to keep *Edward* employ'd, sent a powerful Reinforcement to the *Danes*. *Edward*, having then his Hands full, took no Notice of the Matter: but as soon as he had concluded a Peace with the *Danes*, he march'd against *Rees ap Madoc* (a), King of *Wales*, who was assisted by *Leoffreth* a *Danish* General. After several Skirmishes, *Edward* at last obtain'd a Signal Victory, which reduc'd the *Welsh* King to a necessity of suing for

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The Cum-  
berland  
Brittons  
submit,  
and likewise  
the King of  
Scotland.

for Peace, with a Promise of paying the usual Tribute. In fine, the *Britons* of *Cumberland*, who had put themselves under the Protection of the *Danes*, submitted also to *Edward*. Some Historians pretend, the King of *Scotland* following their Example, did *Homage* for his Kingdom to the King of *England*. But the *Scotch*, not only deny the Fact, but maintain it cou'd not possibly be, since the word *Homage* was never us'd in *Great-Britain* till after the *Norman Conquest*. But this Reason is not decisive, seeing the thing signified by that *Term*, might be in Use under another Name. In reality, the Sovereignty of *Alfred* and *Edward* over the *Northumbrian Danes*, and over the *Mercians* in the time of *Ethelred* and *Elfleda*, was nothing else but a Right of *Homage* from those Countries, tho' perhaps that *Term* was not *Then* in Use.

Edward's  
Death.  
925.

*Edward* was enjoying the Fruits of his Victories, fear'd and respected by all that cou'd give him any Umbrage at Home, and greatly esteem'd by all Princes Abroad, when Death took him out of the World in 925, after a Reign of 24 Years \*. He had gain'd as great a Reputation by his Arms, as the King his Father, since like him, he had given Law to all *England*, and procur'd to the Kingdom such Peace and Tranquillity, as it had scarce known since the *Danes* had begun their Ravages. But if he equall'd the Great *Alfred* in his Military Virtues, it must be own'd, he was far behind his illustrious Father in all other Respects.

The Story of  
Edward &  
Egwina.

He had Children by three Wives; the first, nam'd *Egwina*, was only 'a Concubine, a Shepherd's Daughter. An Historian gives us a sort of a *Romantick* Account concerning this Woman, which it will be necessary to insert here. I call it a *Romance*, since by the Confession of the Author himself \* it had no better Foundation than some *Old Songs* handed down to his time (a); Much what the same with your *Spanish Romances*, wherein are related several Stories of

\* Malms-  
bury, and  
after him  
Brompton.

\* He dyed at *Farrington* in *Berkshire*, and was buried at *Winchester* by his Father.

(a) *Magis ex Camilenis, quam ex Libris.*



of their Antient Kings. The Historian tells us, that *Egwina*, the Daughter of a Shepherd, as she was asleep in the Fields, dreamt that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright, that all *England* was enlighten'd by the Splendor of it. Some time after, she had an opportunity to relate her Dream to an old Woman that had been King *Edward's* Nurse. This Woman, who valued her self mightily upon her Skill in interpreting Dreams, imagining there was something extraordinary in this, took *Egwina* home to her Houle, and gave her an Education, not suitable to a Country Wench, but to a Person of Quality. *Egwina* answer'd all the old Nurse's Care and Pains about her, and became an accomplish'd Beauty. Whilst she was in the House of her Benefactress, it happen'd that Prince *Edward*, before he was King, passing by the Place where his Nurse liv'd, went in to see her. He cast his eyes on *Egwina*, and immediately fell desperately in Love with her. His Passion was so violent, that in the most moving and affecting Manner he sollicitated the Nurse to put him in Possession of the charming *Egwina*. The old Woman, who had a great Affection for *Edward*, and had always the Dream in her Head, yielded to his Request, and brought *Egwina* to consent to what he desir'd so passionately. From that time, *Edward* had all along a tender Love for her, and had by her three Children, of whom *Althelstan* the eldest succeeded him. *Alfred* the second died before his Father. The third was a Daughter, call'd by some, *Editha*, by others, *Beatrix*.

Children of  
Edward by  
Egwina.

By another Wife, *Edward* had two Sons and six Daughters. *Elfwald* the eldest Son died at *Oxford* a few Days after his Father; so that he had no time to taste the Sweets of a Crown. *Edwin* the second was depriv'd of his just Rights, and came to a tragical End, as shall be related hereafter. Of the six Daughters, some were married to powerful Princes, by the Care of their Brother *Althelstan*, and others became Nuns. *Elfleda* the eldest was Abbess of *Ramsay* \*. *Ogina* was married to *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, and was Mother to *Lewis d'Outre-Mer*. *Edil-da* pass'd her days in a Monastery. The fourth, of the same

Children by  
another  
Wife.

\* in Hamp-  
shire.

same Name, was married to *Hugh the Great*, Earl of *Paris*, Father to *Hugh Capet*. *Edgitha* was married to *Otho* Emperor of *Germany*. *Edgiva* the youngest espous'd *Lewis the Blind*, King of *Provence*, who had a Son by her, named *Constantine*.

Children by  
his Third  
Wife.

By *Edgiva* his third Wife, *Edward* had two Sons and two Daughters. *Edmund* and *Edred* the two Sons were both Kings of *England*. *Edburga* was a *Nun*, and her Sister *Edgiva* was married to *Lewis*, Prince of *Aquitain*. It is very probable this *Edgiva* was confounded with her Sister of the same Name by the second Wife, who was married to *Lewis* King of *Provence*, because there was then no Prince of *Aquitain* taken Notice of in History.

The *Danish* Historians give to *Edward* another Daughter nam'd *Thyra*, who as they assure us, was married to *Gormon III*, one of their Kings. It is strange they shou'd speak so positively of a Princess of *England*, when not an *English* Historian makes the least Mention of her.

Rollo gets  
possession of  
Norman-  
dy.

During the Reign of *Edward the Elder*, *Rollo* Chief of the *Normans* in *France*, had got such firm footing in *Neustria*, that it was not in the Power of the *French* to drive him thence. *Charles the Simple*, then King of *France*, was forc'd in order to free himself from the continual Fears of so troublesome a Neighbour, to give him a Grant of that Part of *Neustria*, he was in Possession of, lying between the *Seine* and the *Epte*, with the Title of *Duke of Normandy*, upon Condition he shou'd do *Homage* for it to the Crown of *France*, be baptiz'd, and marry *Giselle* the King's Daughter. *Rollo* died, according to *Mezerai*, in 917. Some place his Death in 924, and others with still less reason in 928. *William* his Son, by *Poppa* Daughter to the Earl of *Bayeux*, succeeded him in his *Dutchy*.

### 3. *ATHELSTAN.*

## 8. ATHELSTAN.

**E**LSWARD, Edward's eldest Son, surviving his Father but a few Days, and the rest of the legitimate Children being all under Age, *Athelstan*, the Son of *Egwin*, was plac'd on the Throne, with the Consent of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*. Tho' this Prince had a Mixture of *Base* and *Noble* Blood in his Veins, the last had so far the Ascendant as to wipe out all the Blemish cast upon his Birth. *Alfred* his Grand-Father had conferr'd the Honour of *Knighthood* upon him, by girding him with a Sword according to the Custom of those Days. *Edward* his Father had committed the Care of his Education to *Ethelred* his Brother-in-Law and *Elfeda* his Sister, who did their utmost to train him up to Virtue. As he had been present at all their *Councils*, and attended them in all their Warlike Expeditions, he had acquir'd so great Experience both in *Military* and *Political* Affairs, as, join'd to his Natural Parts, gain'd him the Esteem of all the World. So that when he mounted the Throne, he was not only of a fit Age, being then in his 30th Year, but also very capable, to govern. History informs us not what determin'd the *English* to give the Crown to this Prince, notwithstanding his *Illegitimate* Birth. However his Father thought this a sufficient Reason to set him by, and name for his Successor another of his Sons born in Wedlock, tho' younger than *Athelstan*. In all appearance, after the Death of *Elsward*, *Athelstan's* mature Age and Noble Qualities gain'd him the Preference before *Edwin*, the eldest of the *Legitimate* Sons, but too young to govern\*.

This

\* *Athelstan* was crown'd at *Kingston upon Thames* by *Athelm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Ceremony of Crowning and Anointing the *English* Kings was, in all probability, first used in the Reign of *Alfred*.



*A Plot a-  
gainst the  
King.*

This Election however was not pleasing to all. Some of the principal of the *Nobility*, disdaining to be govern'd by a Bastard, plotted how to dethrone *Athelstan*, and set up *Edwin* in his Room. *Alfred*, the chief of the Conspirators, had gone so far as to contrive the Means to seize *Athelstan* at *Winchester*, with a Design to put out his Eyes. But the Plot being discover'd, he was apprehended by the King's Order; but wou'd confess nothing. He obstinately persisted in protesting his Innocence, and offer'd to purge himself by Oath in the Presence of the *Pope*. Altho' this way of justifying himself was no Proof of his Innocence, yet *Athelstan* was satisfied with it, and sent him to *Rome*, to take his Oath before *Pope John*. Perhaps he was unwilling to begin his Reign with Blood; or it may be he was apprehensive, the treating too severely a Person of the first Rank, would draw upon him the Ill-will of the *Nobles*. Not long after, he had Word sent him from *Rome*, that *Alfred* having sworn his Innocence before the *Pope*, fell down on a sudden in a fainting Fit, which holding him three Days, ended with his Life; and that the *Pope* convinc'd by this Accident, that *Alfred* had perjur'd himself, had order'd his Body to remain in the *English College*, 'till the King's Pleasure shou'd be known. *Athelstan* contented with being thus rid of his Enemy, without having directly any Hand in his Death, consented he should have Christian Burial. However, his whole Estate was confiscated, and given to *Malmsbury-Monastery*. The King took care to insert in the Grant, the Particulars before related, to let the World see, he did not dedicate to God an Estate gotten by any ill Means.

*The Danes  
begin to  
suir.*

*Athelstan  
marches  
into Nor-  
thumber-  
land.*

In the mean Time, new Work was cutting out for the King. As the *Danes* settled in *England*, had been subdued by Force, they thought it lawful to make use of the same Means to shake off their Yoke. The Death of *Edward*, and the Conspiracy of *Alfred*, affording them, as they imagin'd, a favourable Opportunity to Revolt, they had began to take such Measures as oblig'd *Athelstan* to march into their Country. He wou'd, no doubt, have met with more Resistance, had he given them Time to make greater

greater Preparations. But as they had not yet drawn their Forces together, they were so surpriz'd by the Arrival of the King on their Frontiers, that without endeavouring to defend themselves, they returned to their Allegiance. *Sithrick*, one of their Kings, went and sued for Peace, upon what Terms the King was pleas'd to impose. *Athelstan*, being desirous to be at Peace with the *Danes*, in order to establish himself in his Throne, not only pardon'd his Revolt, but gave him his Sister *Editha* in Marriage, on Condition he wou'd receive Baptism (a).

The Troubles in the North being thus appeas'd, *Athelstan* march'd back to *Wessex*. He had News brought him soon after of *Sithrick's* Death, who by a former Marriage had left behind him two Sons, *Anlaff* and *Godfrid*. As the Histories of those Times are not very particular, we are not told the Reason of *Athelstan's* resolving to deprive these two Princes of their Father's Dominions. Whatever it might be, soon as he heard of *Sithrick's* Death, he return'd, at the Head of his Army, into *Northumberland*. His March was so expeditious, that *Anlaff* and *Godfrid*, as well as *Reginald*, another *Danish* King, who resided at *York*, had scarce Time to escape falling into his Hands. Their hasty Flight gave him an Opportunity of becoming Master of all *Northumberland*, except the Castle of *York*. His second Expedition thither.

Though he had taken Care to secure his Conquests, by placing strong Garrisons in all the Towns, he was uneasy at the Escape of the three *Danish* Princes. He wou'd very fain have had them in his Power, but it was not possible. No body knew what was become of *Reginald*, and *Anlaff* was fled into *Ireland*, where it was no easy Matter to come at him. *Athelstan* therefore was forc'd to be contented with requiring *Constantine* King of *Scotland* to deliver up *Godfrid*, who had retir'd into his Dominions. *Constantine* being sensible he was not in a Condition to deliver any thing to a Prince at the Head of so powerful an Army. An Intervew of the Kings of England and Scotland.

(a) She was Daughter to *Edward* and *Egwin*. After *Sithrick's* Death she became a Nun at *Pellefworth* in *Warwickshire*.



Army, promis'd to do as he requir'd him, and to give him a meeting at *Dacor*. But whilst he was preparing for his Journey, *Godfrid* made his Escape, either through the Negligence or Connivance of *Constantine*, who however went to meet *Athelstan*, accompanied with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*. *Athelstan* admitted *Constantine's* Excuses for the *Danish* Prince's Escape. But, if the *English* Historians are to be credited, he obliged both the Kings to do Homage for their Kingdoms. However, the *Scotch* positively deny that *England* had ever any Right of Sovereignty over *Scotland* 'till the twelfth Century: But this Dispute, which was never decided, will for the future be dropt, since *England* and *Scotland* make now but one Kingdom.

Before *Athelstan* quitted the *North*, *Godfrid* made an Attempt upon *York*, by the Means of the Castle, where he had still some Friends. But not succeeding, he put to Sea, where for some Time he exercis'd Piracy. At length, tir'd with that way of Life, he surrendred himself to the King of *England*, who receiv'd him kindly, and allow'd him a handsome Pension. Some Time after, upon some Disgust or ill-grounded Suspicion, he withdrew again, and was never more heard of.

Anlaff and  
Constantine join  
against A-  
thelstan.

Malm.  
Hoveden.

*Anlaff*, a Prince of greater Abilites than his Brother, took better Measures for the Recovery of his Dominions. He had retir'd into *Ireland*, where being inform'd that the King of *Scotland* was displeas'd with *Athelstan*, thought it a good Opportunity to endeavour to perswade him to espouse his Cause. With this View he came to *Scotland*, and gave *Constantine* to understand, he had Reason to fear the worst from the King of *England*. He represented to him, that this Prince having by Surprise seized upon *Northumberland*, without alledging the least Shadow of Reason for his Proceedings, might act in the same Manner with regard to *Scotland*, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to prevent him from so doing. To this he added the Offer of a powerful Reinforcement from *Ireland*, and put him in Hopes, that with their Help he wou'd easily drive *Athelstan* out of *Northumberland*, and rid himself of so dangerous



dangerous a Neighbour, by restoring that Kingdom to the *Danes*, who wou'd serve as a Barrier for him against *England*. *Anlaff* found no great Difficulty to bring over the King of *Scotland*, who, besides his being secretly exasperated at the haughty Reception he met with at the late Interview, was grown uneasy at *Athelstan*'s Successes, and apprehensive of being invaded himself. He resolv'd therefore to embark in this Enterprize, and having concerted Measures with *Anlaff*, they parted in order to go and get in a Readiness the Troops each had engag'd himself to provide.

In the mean while *Athelstan* having view'd his Garrisons, and done all he thought necessary to secure his late Conquests, was return'd into *Wessex*, where he remain'd in Peace, not suspecting what his Enemies had plotted against him. A little after he was engag'd in a War with *Howel* Athelstan defeats Howel King of Wales. King of *Wales*. This was contriv'd by *Constantine*, in order to keep him employ'd against the *Welsh*, whilst he and *Anlaff* shou'd invade *Northumberland*. *Athelstan*, by his Expedition, broke all the Measures of the King of *Scotland*. The Moment he was inform'd of the Motions of the *Welsh*, and of the Succours *Constantine* had sent them, he march'd into *Wales*, and giving *Howel* Battle, obtain'd a compleat Victory. Upon which he augmented the Tribute that Prince paid to *England*.

This War being thus ended, *Athelstan* march'd for *Scotland*. He marches into Scotland, in order to make *Constantine* repent of his having assisted the *Welsh*. As soon as he had enter'd the *Scotch* Territories, he took some of their Towns, and gave them reason to dread more considerable Losses. As *Anlaff* was not yet arriv'd with the Troops he had promis'd, *Constantine* durst not venture alone to undertake a War against so powerful an Enemy, who was already in his Dominions, and in a Condition of pushing on his Conquests. And therefore, in order to gain Time, till the *Irish* had join'd him, he sued for Peace. *Athelstan* readily granted his Request, being and makes a Peace with Constantine. extremely desirous to make that Prince his Friend, for fear he should foment the Insurrections of the *Northumbrians*. With this View he restor'd to him all the Places he had ta-

ken, hoping by his Generosity to gain him over to his Interest. Some Historians however affirm, *Athelstan* oblig'd *Constantine* to do him *Hamage* for *Scotland*. But this is what the *Scots* will never agree to.

933.  
Constantine renews  
the War.

*Athelstan's* generous Proceedings cou'd not prevent *Constantine* from pursuing his first Designs. On the contrary, he hasten'd on his Preparations the more, being extreamly vex'd he shou'd be forc'd to receive Obligations from a Prince whom he always look'd upon as his Enemy. In the mean Time, *Athelstan* was gone back to *Wessex*, where he hop'd to enjoy some Repose. But he met at Home in his own Family with what gave him greater uneasiness than the War cou'd possibly do.

*Athelstan*  
puts his  
Brother  
*Edwin* to  
Death,

A certain Lord at Court, who was an Enemy to Prince *Edwin*, the King's Brother, accus'd the young Prince of being concern'd in *Alfred's* Conspiracy, before-mention'd. The King too readily gave in to this Accusation. He was easily induc'd to believe the Prince had a Hand in a Conspiracy that was form'd purely upon his Account. Perhaps also he was not displeas'd with finding him guilty, as it gave him an Opportunity of dispatching him out of the Way. However, he wou'd not put him to Death publicly, but order'd him to be expos'd to the Fury of the Waves in a Vessel without Sails or Rudder. The young Prince went on Board, protesting his Innocence, and finding the King was inexorable, he jump'd headlong into the Sea. *Athelstan* at first was secretly pleas'd with having thus got rid of his Brother; but in a little Time he was touch'd with Remorse for what he had done. To quiet his Conscience he was advis'd to atone for his Crime by some meritorious Act. With this View he founded the Abby of *Middleton* in *Dorsetshire* \*, where Prayers were offer'd up to Heaven Day and Night in his Behalf, and for the Soul of his Brother. Historians add, that not contented with

Malm.

and repents  
of it.

\* Now called *Melton-Abby*; it lies three Miles North of the *Piddle*. The greatest Part of it is still standing, as having been the Seat of the *Tregonwell's* ever since its Dissolution; from whom it is lately come to the *Lutterell's* of *Dunster-Castle*, by the Marriage of the Heiress of Sir *John Tregonwell*. *Camb. Add. to Dorsetshire*.



with this, he submitted to a seven Years *Penance*, but don't inform us wherein it consisted. *Edwin's* Accuser had not reason long to rejoyce at the Success of his malicious Calumnies. One Day as he waited at Table with the King's Cup, he happen'd to slip so with one Foot, that he wou'd certainly have fallen, had he not recover'd himself with the other. This made him say in a jocosè Manner, *See how one Brother helps another*. This Jest cost him his Life. *Athelstan*, who over-heard what he said, and taking it for a Reproach or Banter upon him, order'd him to be executed immediately, and thus reveng'd his Brother's Death by *that* of his false Accuser \*.

Whilst these things were doing at Court, *Constantine* continued his Preparations to put in Execution what had been concerted between him and *Anlaff*. This last, whom some without any Grounds stile *King of Ireland*, had found the Means to perswade to enter into a League, the *Irish*, *Welsh* and *Northumbrian Danes*, who ardently desir'd to have a King of their own Nation on their Throne. *Anlaff* appear'd as Head of this League, though *Constantine* was no less concern'd in it, seeing he was to be the Principal in the War. They carried on their Designs so privately, that *Anlaff* enter'd the *Humber* with a Fleet of 600 Sail, and invaded *Northumberland*, before *Athelstan* had any Intelligence of the Matter. With so considerable Forces, encreas'd by the *Danes* settled in those Parts, he easily became Master of several small Towns, that were but weakly defended. But the fortified Places that were garrison'd by the *English*, stopp'd his Progress, and gave *Athelstan* Time to draw his Army together. He us'd so great Expedition, that he came upon the two Confederate Princes before they were aware of it. They had begun their March towards *Bernicia*, in order to conquer that Kingdom for the King of

\* As the Affair of *Edwin* is the only Thing that sullies the Memory of *Athelstan*, *Malmsbury*, who relates it, disbelieves the whole Story, because of his great Kindness to his other Brothers and Sisters, and owns it was grounded only on some old Ballads. *Huntingdon* speaks of the loss of *Edwin* by Sea, but mentions it as a sad Accident, and a great Misfortune to *Athelstan*.



of Scotland. But they found they were oblig'd to return back to oppose King *Athelstan*, who was very near them, when they imagin'd him as yet busied in his Preparations. The two Armies met at *Brunanburgh* \*, where a bloody Battle was fought. *Athelstan* came off Conqueror, and the Allies lost *Constantine* King of Scotland, six *Irish* or *Welsh* Kings, and twelve *Earls* and General Officers. This Victory was chiefly owing to the Valour of *Turketul*, the King's Cousin, who was afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*. *Athelstan* extended his Conquests into Scotland, and chastis'd the *Welsh* by raising their Tribute to 20 Pound Weight of Gold, 300 of Silver, and 25 thousand Head of Cattle. Besides, he pent them up beyond the *Wye*, and took from them all the Country lying between that River and the *Severn*. As for the *Northumbrian Danes*, who had openly sided with the Allies, he increas'd their Yoke, and kept for the Time to come a stricter Hand over them. After he had settled Matters in the *North*, he march'd against the *Cornish Britons*, who had likewise assisted the Confederates. He took *Exeter*, which had been formerly destroy'd by the *Danes*, and caused it to be forthwith repair'd and fortify'd. From that Time forward, the *Britons* were forc'd to keep beyond the *Tamar*, which serv'd as a Boundary to the two Nations. They were before mix'd with the *English* in some of the *Western* Counties.

Miracles  
done in  
Favour of  
*Athelstan*.

In almost every Page of the Histories of those Days, we meet with Miracles, wrought in favour of the Friends and Protectors of the Monks. *Athelstan*, who had been a good Benefactor to them, out of a Design to atone for the Murder of his Brother, was very much in their good Graces. Accordingly they have not fail'd to give him the usual Marks of their Gratitude. They say, that at the word of St. *John of Beverly*, he struck his Sword  
three

\* Suppos'd to be *Bromford* near *Bromridge* in *Northumberland*; tho' some think it was somewhere nearer the *Humber*. In the Description of this Battle, the Historians and Poets of that Age are extraordinary full of Raptures and Bombast. The *Saxon Annalist*, wont to be sober and succinct, launches out strangely upon this Occasion. *Sax. Ann.* 938.

three Yards deep into a solid Rock, which yielded like so much Butter. They tell us also, that having lost his Sword in the Battle of *Brunanburgh*, another from Heaven came and sheath'd it self in his Scabbord. But it wou'd be lost time to relate all the Miracles the Monks have thought fit to stuff their Histories with. It will not be amiss however to Note, that the Custom of embellishing all remarkable Events with Miracles, was in Fashion for several Ages.

I shall conclude the Reign of *Athelstan*, with an Incident, the best Historians have thought worth their Notice. A few days before the Battle of *Brunanburgh*, *Anlaff* wanting to know the Posture of the Enemy, went into the *English* Camp, disguis'd like an Harper, as *Alfred the Great* had formerly done. But notwithstanding his Disguise, he was known by a Soldier, who however suffer'd him to go off undiscover'd. As soon as the Soldier thought him safe, he told *Athelstan* what had happen'd, and advis'd him to remove his Tent, judging *Anlaff* had some Design upon that Quarter. He excus'd himself for not having discover'd this Secret sooner, by saying, that *he had formerly given his Military Oath to Anlaff, and therefore cou'd not resolve to betray him.* *Athelstan* forgave him, and follow'd his Advice, which he soon found to be of great Consequence. The next Night the *Danish* Prince, with a Body of chosen Troops, attack'd the *English* Camp, and penetrated to the very Place where he had seen the King's Tent. A Bishop, who by Accident had pitch'd his upon that very Spot, was slain by that Means\*.

*He avoids  
being slain  
by the ad-  
vice of a  
Soldier.*

*Athelstan* outliv'd the Victory of *Brunanburgh* but 3 Years. He died a natural Death in 941, in the 46th Year of

941.  
*Athelstan's  
Death.*

\* There is a *Romantick* Story told by *Brompton* and others relating to this Reign. At a time *Athelstan* was in Distress for a Champion to fight *Colebrand* a huge *Danish* Giant that had defyed all the *English*, *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* return'd from the *Holy-Land* in the Habit of a *Pilgrim*, and being unknown to all but the King, accepted the Challenge, fought and kill'd the Giant near *Winchester*; upon which the *Danes* yielded, and *Guy* retir'd to a *Hermit's Cell*, and there ended his Days.

*His Character.*

of his Age, and the 16th of his Reign \*. Historians have dilated on the glorious Success of his Arms, but much more on the Miracles Heaven wrought in his Favour. But without insisting on the Wonders his History abounds with, I shall content my self with giving him this Commendation ; His Merits made him to be equally, fear'd by his Neighbours, belov'd by his Subjects, and respected by the greatest Princes in *Europe* \* †. The Emperor *Otho* and *Hugh the Great*, his Brothers-in-Law, gave him frequent Demonstrations of their Esteem by making him considerable Presents. The Noble Matches he made for those of his Sisters who preferr'd the World to a *Cloyster*, are clear Evidences of his great Reputation in the World. His Sister *Ogina*, Widow to *Charles the Simple*, King of *France*, having been oblig'd to fly for Refuge into *England*, with her Son *Lewis*, who from thence had the Sirname of *Outremer*, he gave them an honorable Reception, and furnish'd them with all Things necessary during their *Exile*. It is even affirm'd, that his Application and Credit did not a little contribute to the restoring the King his Nephew to the Throne of his Ancestors. Tho' Military Affairs seem'd to engross all his Thoughts, yet did he not neglect *Civil Matters*, and the making Justice to flourish throughout his Dominions; witness the excellent Laws he from time to time added to those of *Alfred* his Grand-father. It appears from his Laws, several whereof are still extant, that his Intent was, all Persons, *Ecclesiastical* as well as *Civil*, shou'd be subject to them. He was no Friend to those *Privileges* and *Immunities* the *Clergy* have so much improv'd, and which very often serve only to *authorise* Wickedness, and prove a *Sanctuary* to Criminals.

*He gets the Bible Translated into Saxon.*

Among all the Monuments of his Piety, which for the most Part consist only in building and endowing Monasteries, according to the Custom of those Days, the Translation

\* He died at *Glocester*, and was buried with a great many *Trophies* at *Malmsbury*.

\* † *Malmsbury* concludes King *Athelstan's* Character with this Sentence: *His Life was little in time, but great in Action.* Lib. 2.



tion of the Scriptures into *Saxon*, the then *Vulgar-Tongue*, was one, the usefulness whereof is beyond all Doubt. He took particular Care to have it well done, and for that reason employ'd those that were look'd upon as the most Learned Persons in the Kingdom. Hence it is evident how much the State of *Learning* had been improv'd by the wise Regulations of the *Great Alfred*, since, in his Time, it wou'd have been impossible to have found any *Englishmen* capable of undertaking a Work of that Nature.

The famous *Dunstan*, so often mention'd hereafter, was born in the first Year of this Reign.

*Birch of  
Dunstan.*

*Athelstan* having no Issue, *Edmund* the eldest of the legitimate Sons of *Edward the Elder*, was plac'd on the Throne by the unanimous Consent of All.

*Edmond  
made King.*

## 9. EDMUND. I.

**A**THELSTAN had left *England* in profound Tranquillity. The *Welsh* paid their Tribute regularly. *Anlaff*, after his Defeat, was retir'd into *Ireland* where he seem'd to have dropt all Thoughts of any further Designs; and the *Danes* remain'd in Subjection. But as soon as this Prince was laid in his Grave, they prepar'd for a Revolt. *Edmund's* Youth made them hope they shou'd at length be able to bring about their long-projected Scheme of having a King of their own Nation, and throwing off the *English* Yoke. *Anlaff* having perfect Intelligence, how they stood inclin'd, resolv'd to take the Advantage of this Juncture to recover the Crown of *Northumberland*. But as he was very sensible this cou'd not be done without a Foreign Aid, he found the Means to perswade *Olaf*, King of *Norway*, to espouse his Cause, who promis'd to assist him to the utmost of his Power. With the Troops this Prince furnish'd him with, he once more enter'd *Northumberland*, and coming before *Tork*, the Gates were open'd to him, by the Means of the good understanding between him and the Principal Inhabi-

*E D-  
MUND. I.*

*Anlaff in-  
vades Nor-  
thumber-  
land,*

B b b

tants:

tants. The Example of the *Metropolis* was follow'd by the greatest Part of the other Towns, whose Garrisons were either drove out, or cut in pieces by the Citizens, who almost All of them were of *Danish* Race. *Anlaff*, not content with being Master of *Northumberland*, march'd into *Mercia*, where his Countrymen receiv'd him with open Arms, and assisted him in recovering several Places which *Edward the Elder* had formerly taken from them.

Tho' *Edmund* was not above 17 or 18 Years of Age, the Progress of the Enemy was so far from abating his Courage, that on the contrary it made him the more eager to come to a Battle, that would decide, to whom a Country, so often and so long contended for, shou'd at last belong. As soon as he had drawn his Forces together, he resolutely march'd towards the *North*, tho' he well knew how much the Enemy was superior to him in Numbers. On the other Hand, *Anlaff* hearing *Edmund* was upon the March to give him Battle, advanc'd towards him with the same Resolution. The two Armies meeting near *Chester* (a) \*, came to an Engagement, wherein Victory held the Balance so even, that when Night came, neither Side cou'd boast of the least Advantage. Both Sides prepar'd to renew the Fight as soon as day shou'd appear. But the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York* \*,

\* Odo and Wulfstan.

Edmund and Anlaff divide England between them.

who were in the two Armies, labour'd so earnestly to make Peace, that a Treaty was begun that very Evening, and concluded by break of Day. This Peace was the more easily made up, because neither of the Parties cou'd insist upon any Advantage he had got in the Action of that Day, since neither of them cou'd know either their Own or the Enemy's Losses. By this Treaty, *Edmund* was oblig'd to deliver up to the *Danes* all the Country lying North of the *Roman* High-Way call'd *Watling-Street*, which divided *England* into almost two equal Parts, running

(a) Antient *Chester*, call'd by the *Romans*, *Urbs Legionis*. \* It was so nam'd from the 20th *Legion* who were encamp'd here to keep the *Ordovices* in Awe, for the same reason it was call'd by the *Britons* or *Welsh*, *Caer-leon*, and by the *Saxons*, *Legea-cester*, suppos'd to be built about that time.



ning from *North-Wales* to the most *Southern* Part of *Kent*, quite to the Sea \*. *Edmund* was not at all pleas'd with these Terms, but was in a Manner compell'd to agree to them by the *Nobles* that were in the Army. They, after weighing the Hopes of regaining what was lost, with the Fear of losing more, judg'd it better to end the War upon these Terms, than run a further Hazard by continuing it. There is no doubt but the Remembrance of the Calamities, *England* was formerly expos'd to, made them the more willing to bring Matters to an Accomodation. Accordingly, *Anlaff* was put in Possession of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, whole Bounds were enlarg'd with several *Counties* which his Father *Sithrick* had never been Master of.

\* See Note,  
P. 103.

The *Northumbrian Danes* had not reason long to rejoice at the Restoration of *Anlaff*, which they had so ardently wish'd for. This Prince having contracted a large Debt with the King of *Norway* for the Troops he had lent him, was willing to clear it off. To this End, he laid heavy Taxes on the People, which made him lose their Affection. The Inhabitants of the antient Kingdom of *Deira* were the first that revolted, and having sent for *Reginald*, his Brother *Godfrid's* Son, they crown'd him King at *York*. *Reginald* was no sooner on the Throne, but he made Preparations for the War against his Uncle, who was preparing also to attack him. The Quarrel between these two Kings, put *Edmund* upon marching towards the *North*, at the Head of his Army, as well to lay hold of any Opportunity that shou'd offer it self, as to appease the Troubles there, out of an Apprehension they might be an Occasion of the Foreign *Danes* returning to *England*. He arriv'd upon the Borders of *Northumberland* at a time the Uncle and Nephew, wholly intent upon their private Quarrel, thought of nothing less than repulsing the *English*. In all probability he might, with all the Ease in the World, have made himself Master of that Kingdom, however he was satisfied with making Peace between the two Kings, in such a Manner that *Reginald* was to keep the Crown he had just before receiv'd. But at the same



time, *Edmund* oblig'd them Both to swear *Allegiance* to him, and to be baptiz'd, he himself standing God-father to them.

The Wars  
break out  
afresh.

This Peace, made by Compulsion, lasted not long. *Edmund* was hardly return'd into *Wessex*, when the two *Danish* Princes took up Arms with one Consent in order to shake off his Yoke, after having engag'd the *Mercian Danes* and the King of *Cumberland* to espouse their Quarrel. Upon News of this, *Edmund* immediately march'd into *Mercia*, and before the *Danes* there cou'd be join'd by the *Northumbrians*, he took from them *Leicester*, *Stafford*, *Darby*, *Nottingham*, and some other Places of less Note. Then advancing with the same Expedition towards *Northumberland*, he surpris'd the two Kings before they had drawn their Forces together. This sudden Attack put the *Northumbrians* in such Disorder, that the two Kings fearing to fall into the Hands of *Edmund*, thought it their best way to abandon the Island, where they cou'd not possibly remain in safety, so closely were they pursued. Their Flight having bereav'd the *Danes* of all Hopes of withstanding *Edmund*, they threw down their Arms and swore *Allegiance* to him.

The two  
Danish  
Kings fly  
out of Eng-  
land.

945.  
*Edmund*  
subdues  
*Cumber-*  
*land*, and  
gives it to  
the King of  
*Scotland*.

Before he went back to *Wessex*, *Edmund* was resolv'd to punish the King of *Cumberland*, who, for no Cause at all, had sided with the *Danes*. He soon subdued that little Kingdom, whose Forces bore no Proportion to his. However he kept it not for himself, but thought it would be more for his Advantage to make a Present of it to the King of *Scotland*, in order to attach him to his Interest, and prevent him from assisting the *Northumbrians*. However he reserv'd the Sovereignty of it, and oblig'd that Prince to do him Homage for it, and to appear at the King of *England's* Court, at the time of the solemn Festivals, if summon'd. This perhaps is what gave Occasion to say, that from this time, the Kings of *Scotland* were Vassals to the Kings of *England*. They were certainly so with regard to *Cumberland*; but it does not follow from thence they did Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

*Edmund's*

*Edmund's* Successes, his Valour and Abilities, render'd him Famous, both at Home and Abroad. The King of *Denmark*, tho' frequently solicited by the *Danes* in *England*, did not think proper to assist them against a Prince who had gain'd so great a Reputation, and from whom there was so little to be got,

*Edmund* was not wholly taken up with Military Affairs; there are some of his Laws still in Being, which demonstrate how much at heart he had the Well-being and Happiness of his People. As he had remark'd, that *Pecuniary* Punishments were not available to put a stop to Robberies, which were generally committed by People who had nothing to lose, he order'd, that in Gangs of Robbers, the oldest of them shou'd be condemned to the Gallows. This was the First Law in *England* that made it Death to rob or steal.

*The Laws of Edmund.*

*Brompton.*

In all Appearance, this Prince wou'd have made his People happy, had his Reign been longer; but a fatal Accident took him off, when he had just begun to enjoy the Fruits of his Victories. One Day, as he was solemnizing a Festival \* at *Pucklekirk* \*<sup>1</sup> in *Glocestershire*, he spied *Leolf* a notorious Robber, who, tho' banish'd the Kingdom for his Crimes, had the Impudence to come and sit at one of the Tables in the Hall, where the King was at Dinner. Enrag'd at his Insolence, he commanded him to be apprehended. But perceiving he was drawing his Dagger in order to defend himself, the King leapt up in a great Fury, and catching hold of him by the Hair, dragg'd him out of the Hall. This imprudent Action cost him his Life. Whilst he was wholly taken up in venting his furious Passion, *Leolf* stabb'd him in the Breast with his Dagger, upon which he fell down dead on the Body of his Murderer. This was the tragical End of King *Edmund* in 948, in the 25th Year of his Age, and the 8th of his Reign.

948.  
*The tragical End of Edmund.*  
*G. Malm.*

\* In Memory of St. *Augustin* who first preach'd the Gospel to the *Anglo-Saxons*.

\*<sup>1</sup> Now *Puckle-Church*, a small Village only, the Seat of the *Dennis's*, whose Family have been 18 times Sheriffs of that County.

*His Wife  
and Chil-  
dren.*

Reign \*. By *Elgiva* his Wife he had two Sons, *Edwy* and *Edgar*, who did not succeed him by reason of their Minority, *Edred* his Brother was plac'd on the Throne, by the Consent of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*.

*Dunstan.*

During this Reign, *Dunstan* began to make a Figure in the World. He was in great Favour with *Edmund*, who had made him Abbot of *Glassenbury*.

*The Affairs  
of Nor-  
mandy.*

About this time, *William Long-Sword*, the Second Duke of *Normandy*, was assassinated by *Arnold* Earl of *Flanders*, in a little Island of the *Somme* over against *Pegnigni*. *Richard I.* his Son, a Minor, succeeded him. As the Affairs of *Normandy* will hereafter be often mix'd with those of *England*, it is very necessary to give an Account before-hand of the Succession of the *Dukes* in that *Dukedom*.

## 10. *EDRED.*

*EDRED.*

THE *Northumbrian Danes* bore the *English* Yoke with extream Impatience. Nothing but downright Force was capable of keeping them in Subjection. When ever they thought they had a favourable Opportunity to Revolt, they seldom fail'd to lay hold of it. Though during *Edmund's* Reign they had met but with indifferent Success, yet upon the News of his Death, they began to think of Means of regaining their Liberty. They were in hopes that his Successor, whom as yet they knew not, wou'd not have his Bravery, or at least wanting his Experience, wou'd not have the same Advantage over them. For the better bringing about their Designs, they gain'd over to their Side *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, who look'd upon all Obligations to be cancell'd by the Death of *Edmund*. This Prince, as well as the *Danes*, was perswaded that *Edred*, by reason of his Youth, wou'd be so confound-  
ed

\* He was buried at *Glassenbury*, where *Dunstan* was Abbot; and the Town where he was kill'd was bestow'd upon the same Monastery to sing Masses for his Soul.



ed at this unforeseen Attack, that it wou'd not be possible for him to make any Resistance. But the Success was not answerable to their Expectations. *Edred*, who was not inferior to his Predecessor, either in Conduct or Bravery, was so very-expeditious, that he was got in the Heart of *Northumberland*, before the *Danes* were in a readiness to oppose him. They were extremely surpris'd to find themselves attack'd, when as yet they had hardly discover'd their Design to Revolt. And therefore as the Case stood, they had no other Course to take but to submit and sue for Peace upon any Terms.

After he had chastis'd the *Danes* by fining some, and punishing others, who were the principal Authors of the Revolt, *Edred* advanc'd towards *Scotland*, in order to be reveng'd on the ungrateful *Malcolm*. But he perceiving the *Northumbrians* had submitted, and that there was no Hopes of Succours from them, struck up a Peace with *Edred*, paying him the *Homage* due to him.

*He punishes  
the Danes.*

This Expedition being thus finish'd, *Edred* return'd to *Wessex*, imagining he had nothing more to fear from the *North*. But he knew not the *Danes* thoroughly. He had scarce began to enjoy some Quiet, when they revolted again, and call'd home *Anlaff*. They had taken such just Measures, and *Anlaff's* Expedition was so great, that he made himself Master of the most considerable Towns before *Edred* cou'd draw his Army together, which whilst he was preparing to do, *Anlaff* push'd on his Conquests, and manag'd his Matters in such a Manner, that there was no possibility of recovering that Kingdom out of his Hands. But the turbulent and tyrannical Temper of the new King would not suffer him to treat his Subjects any better than than he had done before. In a little Time so strong a Party was form'd against him, that he was forc'd once more to betake himself to *Ireland*, and one *Eric* was plac'd on the Throne.

*They recall  
Anlaff, who  
recovers all  
Northum-  
berland;*

*is driven  
out by his  
Subjects.*

In the mean time a great many of the *Northumbrians* still adhering to *Anlaff*, *Northumberland* was divided into two Factions, who endeavouring to destroy one another,

*Edred sub-  
dues Nor-  
thumber-  
land, and  
reduces it  
to a Pro-  
vince.*

gave *Edred* an Opportunity he very well knew how to improve.

prove. He march'd his Army without loss of Time into the *North*, whilst all was in Confusion there, and before the *Northumbrians* had taken any Measures to resist him. At his Approach *Eric* fled into *Scotland*, leaving his People to the Mercy of *Edred*, who threatned utterly to destroy their Country. Though they had no room to hope for a second Pardon, after having so openly abus'd the first, yet as there was no other Course to take, they cast themselves upon *Edred's* Mercy, and amus'd him with the strongest Protestations and most solemn Oaths. As he was naturally of a generous Disposition, he was touch'd with their submissive Behaviour, and replac'd *Eric* on the Throne, satisfied with imposing a Tribute on him, and making him swear *Allegiance* to him. When he had, as he thought, allay'd these Commotions, he march'd back towards *Wessex*, in a careless Manner, not mistrusting any Treachery from a People that had just receiv'd such sensible Marks of his Clemency towards them. But the *Danes*, who had been rather compell'd by his Arms, than gain'd by his Mildness, laid hold of the present Opportunity to fall upon him. They privately came together, and laying an Ambush for him in the Way, on a sudden fell upon his Rear, and put them in extreme Disorder. Had it not been for the Valour, Conduct and Resolution of the King, his Army had infallibly been cut in Pieces, and it was not without great Difficulty that he got out of this Plunge. Enrag'd at their Perfidiousness, he return'd to *Northumberland*, with a Resolution to punish them without Mercy. His return caus'd an universal Consternation. They beheld him ready to take Vengeance on them for their breach of Faith, without being able to make the least Resistance. Their Ruin was unavoidable, if they so much as offer'd to defend themselves. In this Extremity Submission was their only Remedy. But being very sensible *Edred* wou'd not be impos'd upon any more by general Protestations and Oaths, they humbly implor'd his Pardon upon what Terms he should think fit to enjoin them. And to convince him further of their Sincerity, they solemnly renounced their Allegiance to *Eric*, and put *Amac*, the Son of *Anlass*,



to Death; charging them with being the principal Authors of their Treachery \*. *Edred* was appeas'd by these Means. However, to prevent the like Revolts again, he secur'd all their Towns, and garrison'd them with *English* Soldiers. And then, having entirely divested it of its Royalty, he reduc'd *Northumberland* to a Province, and made Earl *Osulf*, an *Englishman*, the first Governor. From thence forward the *Northumbrians*, kept in Awe by strong Garrisons, and the *English* Earls as Governors, gave *England* no farther Disturbance, 'till such Time as the foreign *Danes* once more became Masters of *Northumberland*, as we shall see hereafter.

After the *Northumbrians* was thus quell'd, *Edred* liv'd in profound Peace. Absolute Lord of all *England*, and dreaded by the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales* his Neighbours, he govern'd his Dominions in perfect Tranquillity. This great Calm was the Occasion of his turning his Thoughts entirely to Religious Affairs, wherein he was guided by the Advice of *Dunstan*, Abbot of *Glassenbury*, who had great Influence over him. The Abbot knew so well how to improve his Credit with the King, that he became Master of his Conscience, and consequently of all State-Matters. When once a Prince suffers his Conscience to be govern'd by his *Ghostly Father*, he will find it very difficult not to let him have the Management of his temporal Concerns, there being hardly any one thing but what may be made to relate to Religion in some Respect or other. The Trust *Edred* plac'd in *Dunstan* was so great, that not content with taking his Directions in all things, and making him his *Treasurer*, he even submitted sometimes to receive *Discipline* from his Hands. He was perswaded that the blind Submission wherein *Dunstan* took Care to keep him, was the readiest Way to Heaven. To gratify this Favourite it was that he undertook the re-building of *Glassenbury*

*Edred*  
turns his  
thoughts to  
Religious  
Affairs.

Is guided  
by the Ad-  
vice of  
*Dunstan*,  
who go-  
vern him  
in all  
Things.

\* *Wulfstan* Archbishop of *York* was taken into Custody for abetting this Rebellion. But after he had been in Prison some time, *Edred* set him at Liberty in respect to his Character. However, he is said to take his Disgrace so to Heart, that it occasion'd his Death soon after. *Malm.* l. 2.



Church and Monastery, in a very sumptuous and magnificent Manner. He laid out immense Sums upon this Work, without having the Satisfaction to see it finish'd.

The Monks made Use also of *Dunstan* their Protector's Interest, to get into the *Ecclesiastical Benefices*, which they could never have done without him. Though *Dunstan's* Proceedings in this Affair rais'd the Clamours of the *secular Clergy* against him, he never minded them, so long as he had his Ends. However, his haughty manner of acting gain'd him abundance of Enemies, who, in the following Reign, made him feel the Effects of their Hatred, which they had taken Care to stifle during *Edred's* Life. If *Dunstan* favour'd the Monks, they in their turn were no less zealous upon all Occasions to promote his Glory. They every where proclaim'd that *Dunstan* was a *great Saint*, that Heaven daily wrought Miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honour'd with *divine Revelations*. In their Account, neither the *Saints* of the first Rank, nor the *Apostles* themselves, were partakers of so many *Graces* as he.

Though all they said of this Prelate was aggravated to the last Degree, it fail'd not however to make an Impression on the Minds of the Generality of the People, who were the more confirm'd in their Belief of what they were told, because they who knew better things, durst not contradict the Monks, for fear of drawing on their Heads the Indignation of the King and his Favourite.

955  
Edred's  
Death.

Malm. l. 2.

Had *Edred* liv'd any Time, *Dunstan* and the *Monks* wou'd doubtless have carried all before them. But he happen'd to dye just as the Monks had begun to get into the *Benefices*. Those Historians who have made it their Business to cry up the *Merits* and *Sanctity* of *Dunstan*, tell us, that *Edred's* Death was reveal'd to him by a Voice from Heaven, as he was upon the Road going to see him. They add, his Horse fell down dead under him, at the prodigious Noise the Voice made. But judicious Authors have forbore to stuff their Writings with *Tales* of this Nature.

Edwy his  
Nephew  
succeeds  
him.

*Edred* reign'd but ten Years \*. *Elfrid* and *Bedfrid*, his two Sons, whom he left very young, succeeded him not :  
Edwy,

\* He was buried at *Winchester*. Sim. Dunelm.

*Edwy*, Son to *Edmund* his elder Brother, was plac'd on the Throne after him. This Election, by the by, seems equally to favour those who are of Opinion, that in the *Saxon* Times the Succession to the Crown depended entirely on the *Suffrages* of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*, and those who maintain it belong'd of Right to the next Heir. On one Hand, we find *Edred's* Sons prevented by the *great Men* from succeeding to the King their Father; and at the same Time, the Crown given to the Son of the *elder* Brother, to the Prejudice of those of the *younger*.

We find in one of *Edred's* Charters, that he took the Title of *Monarch of Albion*; and in another, that he stil'd himself *King of Great Britain*, in which he was follow'd by *Edgar* his Nephew. If these *Charters* were not forg'd, it may be infer'd from them, that *Edred* subdued *Scotland*. But this is not a proper Place to examine this Matter, which has caus'd such warm Disputes between the *English* and *Scotch*. However this be, the Title *Edred* and *Edgar* affected, was disus'd by their Successors, 'till the Time of *James I.* at the End of the sixteenth Century.

## II. EDWY.

**E**DWY\* came to the Crown at fourteen Years of Age, with Thoughts very different from those of his Predecessor in regard to *Dunstan*. Whether he had been prejudic'd against him by the means of his Enemies, or whether he had some particular Reason to be disgusted at him, he was no sooner on the Throne but he order'd him to give an Account of the Sums the late King had entrusted him with. *Dunstan* reply'd, the Money that had pass'd through his Hands, having been laid out in *pious Uses*, he was not liable to be call'd to an Account for a Matter that was purely of a religious Nature. As he

EDWY.  
Dunstan's  
Disgrace.

C c c 2

pro-

\* He was so extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtain'd the Sirname of *Pancalus*, or *The Fair*.

promoted the Building of *Glassenbury*, which the late King had so much at Heart, *Edwy's* Council thought it not proper to push the Affair any farther, lest the People shou'd espoule the Abbot's Cause. The founding and repairing of *Monasteries*, were, at that Time, such *sacred* Things, that there was no speaking against them, without being branded with the Name of *Impious* and *Prophane*. And therefore the King's Council finding there was no attacking *Dunstan* on that Score, without running some Risk, took another Course to undermine his Credit, which was to reverse all that had been done in favour of the Monks. To this End, the *Religious* were turn'd out of their *Benefices*, and the *Secular Priests* put in their Room. This sudden Blow was given with a View, first, to mortify *Dunstan*, which it cou'd not fail to do in a very sensible Manner: Secondly, to lessen his Esteem with the People, since by thus pulling down what he had set up, they let the World see they had no great Opinion of his *Sanctity*. Thirdly, to convince People he had acted very ill in depriving the *Secular Clergy* of their *Benefices*. In fine, as *Dunstan* and the *Monks* were so fast link'd together, it was not possible for them to suffer any Disgrace, but what must reflect upon him. The Persecutions of the most cruel Tyrants against the Church, never extorted from the primitive Christians such bitter *Invectives*, as this pretended Persecution did from the Monks. As they represent the Matter, Religion was never in so great Danger. The most pernicious *Heresies* were nothing in Comparison of what was then acted. The Monks of *Malmsbury*, who were the most concern'd in this Affair, made the greatest Noise of all, and for that Reason were outed of their Monastery, which was given to the *Secular*

Malm. l. 2. Priests. *William* of *Malmsbury*, who belong'd to this House, says, that after it had been inhabited by Monks 270 Years, it was made a Stable of Clerks. Whether *Dunstan* had stirr'd up the Monks to make these Complaints, or whether the charging him with it was made use of as a Handle to punish him, he was banish'd the Kingdom. Some say he voluntarily went into Exile. However this be, he retir'd

Dunstan  
banish'd.



retir'd to a Monastery in *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Expectation of some lucky Turn of Affairs.

*Dunstan's* Enemies gloried in his Disgrace. The King himself was highly delighted with having got rid of one whom he hated, and who, in the former Reign, had shown him Marks of Disrespect. But he soon learnt how dangerous such kind of Enemies are. He found, by fatal Experience, there is no giving Offence to *Ecclesiasticks* with Impunity, and to *Saints* least of all others. The Monks, enrag'd to the last Degree at the loss of their *Benefices*, cried down, to the utmost of their Power, the Administration of the young King, whom they look'd upon as the principal Author of their Disgrace. By their Lies and Calumnies, which they every where spread, they at length perswaded their *Votaries* that he was the most impious of Men. The Consequence of which was, that great Numbers of *Malecontents* appear'd in *Mercia*, of whom *Edgar*, the King's Brother, was declar'd the Head and Protector. Perhaps he was made to believe, by the Suggestions of the Monks, that he wou'd do God Service in deposing his wicked Brother: Or rather, he made use of that Pretence to mount the Throne, which he had but very distant Hopes of. However this be, having secur'd *Mercia*, he went into *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, where he found the *Danes* ready to join him. They desir'd nothing more than to see the *English* involv'd in Troubles and Confusion. This Insurrection was the more surprizing to *Edwy*, as he had never given his People, much less his Brother, any just Cause of Complaint. Besides, it had never enter'd into his Head that the Monks could have Interest enough to raise so great Disturbances. However, it was but too true, and as he was taken unprepar'd, he saw he was not in a Condition to extinguish the Flame they had already kindled. In this Extremity, not knowing how to recover what he had lost, he chose to reduce himself to the sole Kingdom of *Wessex*, which continued faithful to him, and deliver up all the rest.

An Insurrection a gainst Edwy.

Edgar heads it.

Edwy delivers up Mercia.

In the mean Time the Revolters, dreading to fall again under the Dominion of *Edwy*, came to a Resolution of having

The Rebels choose a King.

having a King of their own, whose Interest wou'd oblige him to stand up in their Defence. But as they were a Mixture of *English* and *Danes*, each Nation was desirous the Choice shou'd fall on one of their Countrymen. The *Danes*, in order to attain their Ends, endeavour'd to have it believ'd, that the only way to be safe from *Edwy's* Attacks, was to call in the Assistance of *Denmark*. But in truth, their Aim by it was only to carry the Election. The *English*, on the contrary, perceiving their Design, did all they cou'd to hasten on the Election, by representing how fatal their present State of *Anarchy* might prove to them. But the more forward the *English* appear'd to be, the more full of Delays were the *Danes*, and daily rais'd fresh Obstacles, in hopes they wou'd in the End be oblig'd to send for Succours from *Denmark*. At length, after they had spent a Year in Debates, *Edwy* making no Efforts for the Recovery of his Dominions, and consequently the *Danish* Succours becoming unnecessary, Prince *Edgar* was chosen with the Title of *King of Mercia*, under which was comprehended all the Country lying *North* of the *Thames*, except the ancient Kingdom of *Essex*. To enhance the Merit of the new King, it was given out, that whilst the *Great Men* were deliberating on the Choice of a King, a Voice was heard from Heaven, commanding them to elect *Edgar*. This Revelation was easily swallow'd by the People, at a Time, when it was the general Opinion, the least remarkable Event came not to pass without being attended by some Miracle.

959.  
Edgar e-  
lected King  
of Mercia.

EDWY.  
EDGAR.  
Edwy's  
Death.

*EDWY* in *Wessex*. *EDGAR* in *Mercia*.

**T**HIS Partition of *England* lasted not long. The being depriv'd of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the seeing the Monks triumphing over his Misfortunes, sat so hard upon *Edwy's* Mind, that he fell into an Excess of Melancholy, which brought him to his Grave, after he had reign'd four Years and some Months \*.

If

\* He was buried at *Winchester*.



If we may believe the *Monkish* Writers, *Edwy* was a very wicked Prince. Indeed, how was it possible for a King that did not please them, to be reckoned otherwise? However, when we examine all they say to blacken his Reputation, we find but one Particular that has any Grounds, the which after all, has very much the Air of a Fiction, or at least, is greatly aggravated. They tell us, that he kept the Wife of one of his *Courtiers* for his *Mistress*, and that on the very Day of his Coronation, whilst the great Men were debating the Affairs of the Kingdom, he abruptly withdrew to the Apartment of this Woman, from whence he was brought back by *Dunstan*, who alone had the boldness to reprimand him for this infamous Action \*. From that time forward, if we may believe them, the King and his Mistress were so incens'd against this holy Man, that they would have proceeded to the taking away his Life, had he not prevented their wicked Designs by a voluntary Exile. But to give a still more convincing Proof of the Dissoluteness of *Edwy*, and the Holiness of *Dunstan*, they have vented a thing which plainly shows what Spirit they were of. They say, after *Edwy's* Death, his Soul being dragg'd into Hell by a Legion of Devils, one of them was dispatch'd away with the good News to *Dunstan*. But far from rejoicing at it, the *Saint* pray'd so intensely for the Soul that was going to be eternally miserable, that God, mov'd by his Zeal, snatch'd it from the Devils, and translated it into Paradise. This last Instance of the Animosity of the Monks against *Edwy*, renders their Charge of Adultery very doubtful; especially if we consider he was not above fourteen Years of Age when he ascended the Throne. Moreover, there are Historians who assure us, this pretended Mistress was his lawful Wife \*. Malm.  
However,

\* Some, to make the Matter worse, say, he kept not only the Daughter, whose Name was *Elgiva*, but the Mother too, and that he was on the Bed between them both when *Dunstan* came to fetch him. *M. West.*

\* Some say she was his Wife, but too near a-kin, and therefore that *Odo* the Archbishop, seconding *Dunstan*, put the King under the  
lesser



However this be, we may be certain, *Edwy* might have had one or more Mistresses without all that Clamour against him, had he but been a Favourer of the Monks. For they were not at all offended at the *Amours* of his Brother *Edgar*, who was much more guilty than he in that Respect. But the one was their Friend, and the other their Enemy. All Historians however have not been guilty of this Injustice to *Edwy*. Some have been more favorable to him, either in passing over in Silence these frivolous Accusations, or in giving him the Commendation he deserv'd \*.

## 12. *EDGAR* the Peaceable.

EDGAR.

**E** *DWY* dying without Issue, *Edgar* his Brother succeeded him, and united the two Kingdoms that had lately been divided. Tho' he was not above 16 Years old, his great *Genius* and solid Judgment render'd him more capable of Governing than many other Princes, who have more Years over their Heads. It can't be denied, there are some Men born with so good Natural Parts, that their Judgment is ripe before the usual time. *Edgar* was one of this Number. If he had given Proof of his Abilities in depriving his Brother of the Half of his Kingdom, he gave no less when he came to reign alone. He knew how to make himself obey'd by his Subjects, and fear'd by his Enemies, two things that evidently demonstrate the great Capacity of a Crown'd Head.

The first thing *Edgar* did, after he was elected King of *Mercia*, was to recall *Dunstan* from Banishment, and promote

lesser Excommunication, and branded *Elgiva* in the Forehead with a hot Iron, and then banished her to *Ireland*. After her return, his Heat against her continuing, he Ham-string'd her, says *Malmsbury*; but *Obern* lays it upon the Revolters. *Vit. Dunst. l. II.*

\* *Huntingdon*, who was no Party in the Quarrel, gives him a handsom Character, and says, the Country flourish'd under his Government, and seems to lament he liv'd no longer. *Hunt. l. 5. p. 204.*

mote him to the *See of Worcester*, then vacant. The suddenness of this Prelate's being recall'd, makes it suspected he had, as much absent as he was, a hand in the Insurrection that plac'd *Edgar* on the Throne of *Mercia*. His great Interest at Court during this Prince's Reign, strengthens this Suspicion.

The Reign of *Edgar* is chiefly remarkable for the continual Peace the Kingdom enjoy'd: Whence he was surnam'd *the Peaceful*. This uninterrupted Calm was owing neither to his Victories nor to an unactive Life: but to the extraordinary Preparations he made, in case he shou'd ever be engag'd in a War. By this Means, he became so formidable, that no one durst venture to attack him. He always kept a Standing Army in the *Northern* Provinces, as well for a Terror to the Kings of *Scotland* and *Wales*, as to keep in Awe his own Subjects, particularly the *Danes*. This was so much the more necessary as he was very sensible they were always ready to take the Advantage of any Troubles and Commotions in the State. His own Experience had taught him as much, since by their Assistance it was, that he triumph'd over his Brother. On the other Hand, to prevent the Invasions of the Foreign *Danes*, whom he had no less reason to fear, he took the most effectual Method. He is said to have fitted out, great and small, to the amount of 4000 Ships. Some have rais'd the Number to 4800. It is likely they have carried this Matter too far, but however thus much is certain, the Number of his Ships was exceeding great. This numerous Fleet, being distributed in all the Ports of the Kingdom, and cruising incessantly round the Island, made the Pyrates beware of making Descents, and suffer'd no Ship to come upon the Coasts unexamined. Thus *Edgar* had his Ends; his Preparations prevented all Invasions from Abroad, and kept all quiet at Home, by cutting off all hopes of Foreign Succours. Back'd with such an Army and Fleet, this Prince, without once drawing his Sword, oblig'd the Kings of *Wales*, *Ireland* and the *Isle of Man* to swear *Allegiance* to him, and to acknowledge him for their Sovereign. As a Proof of his Sovereignty over the Kings his Neighbours, Histori-

*Edgar's great Preparations procur'd him a constant Peace.*

*His prodigious Fleet.*  
Fl. Wig.  
Malm.  
M. West.



Edgar  
row'd by 8  
Kings.

ans relate a very extraordinary Act, which, if true, fully makes good what they assert. They tell us, this Prince keeping his Court at *Chester*, and having a Mind to go by Water to the Monastery of *St. John Baptist*, was row'd down the *Dee* in a Barge by Eight Kings, he himself sitting at the *Helm* (a).

961.  
He frees  
England  
from  
Wolves.

*Edgar*, not content with having secur'd *England* from all *Foreign* Assaults, thought it necessary for the further Quiet of his Subjects to free them from two *Domestick* Plagues, which infested them. The one was a horrible Parcel of Wolves, which coming down in Drovers from the Mountains in *Wales*, made such terrible Havock among the Flocks and Herds, that the Country was in a continual Alarm. Hitherto they cou'd find out no Remedy for this Evil: but *Edgar* bethought himself of an Expedient, which quickly clear'd the Country of them. In the first Place, he converted the Tribute of Gold, Silver and Cattle the *Welsh* paid him yearly, into 300 Heads of Wolves. In the next Place, he publish'd throughout all *England*, a general Pardon for all past Offences, on condition each Criminal brought him by such a Time, a certain Number of Wolves Tongues, in proportion to his Crime. Upon publishing this *Act of Grace*, the Wolves were hunted and destroy'd in such a Manner, that in three Years there was not one left in the Kingdom.

Edgar's Se-  
verity to  
corrupt  
Magi-  
strates.

The other Plague that infested *England* was no less pernicious: They were another Sort of Wolves, who, not satisfied with eating up Flocks and Herds, devour'd *Houses* and *Families*. I mean the *Magistrates* appointed in the Cities and Provinces to administer Justice to the People. These mercenary Judges, abusing the exorbitant Power *Edgar's* Predecessors had suffer'd them to usurp during the Wars, were become intolerable to the Nation. Without any Regard to Law or Justice, they consulted only their own Interest. They who made them the largest Presents,

(a) These might be the Kings of the several Kingdoms in *Wales*, of *Anglesey*, *Man* and *Ireland*. Some reckon among them *Keneth*, III. of *Scotland*, who was Vassal to *Edgar* for *Cumberland*.



Presents, were sure to be favour'd; and tho' by that Means the Poor were the most oppress'd, the Rich were not entirely screen'd from their partial Proceedings. *Alfred the Great* had endeavour'd, by an extraordinary Act of Severity, to put a stop to this Evil: but the Wars that ensued had prevented his Successors from putting his Laws in Execution. *Edgar*, having taken upon him to reform this Abuse, thought it his Duty to labour at it heartily himself. To this End, he took a Progress every Year thro' some Part of the Kingdom, on purpose to hear the Complaints that were made against those Judges, who abus'd their Authority. He was not satisfied with examining into their Misdemeanors, but thought it necessary to prevent them for the future, by making a Law, that every Judge convicted of having given Sentence contrary to the Laws, shou'd be fin'd 26 Shillings, if he did it ignorantly, but if knowingly, shou'd be cashier'd for ever. It can't be denied, but that in this thing he acted as became a great Prince, and that Subjects, who enjoy the double Privilege, of being guarded against Invasions from Abroad, and Oppression at Home, are perfectly happy. Such is the State of the *English* at this day under the present Government.

If *Edgar* was a Lover of Peace, it proceeded not from Want of Courage; that was never laid to his Charge. There is a Story related of him, which tho' it has the Air of a Fiction, is a good Proof at least of his being look'd upon as a courageous Prince. It is said that being inform'd *Keneth III.* King of *Scotland*, had jested on the Littleness of his Stature, he sent for him to Court, and walking with him in a certain Place, where he had order'd two Swords to be hid, he bid him take his Choice, telling him at the same time, he shou'd see, if he pleas'd, what a *Little Man* cou'd do. *Keneth*, as the Story goes, was so far from accepting his Challenge, that he threw himself at his Feet and begg'd this Pardon. I observe this Relation is very improbable. In the first Place, it is generally refer'd to the Beginning of *Edgar's* Reign; whereas *Keneth III.* came not to the Crown of *Scotland*

Proof of  
Edgar's be-  
ing thought  
a coura-  
geous Prince.

till five or six Years before that Prince's Death. In the second Place, the Character the *Scotch* Historians give *Keneth*, won't suffer us to think him capable of such a Piece of Cowardice. Lastly, this Adventure seems to have been confounded with one of the same Nature, which happen'd between a King of *Scotland* and one of the Lords of his Court, related by *Buchanan*.

Edgar's Attachment to the Monks contributed to his great Fame.

Edgar's Noble Qualities, and the Tranquillity *England* enjoy'd during his Reign, render him, no doubt, very Praise-worthy. But perhaps they wou'd have been buried in eternal Oblivion, had not his being a fast Friend to the Monks, engag'd them to proclaim his Praises even to an extravagant Degree. His *Bigotry* to them, which pass'd then for the most sublime Virtue, was the principal Reason of the Commendations given him by Historians, and of his being honor'd with the Title of *Saint* after his Death. He is said to have founded 40 Monasteries, and to have repair'd and beautified many more, particularly that at *Glassenbury* built by his Uncle *Edred*. In short, he was so very liberal to the Monks, that it was hardly in his Power to do more for them than he did. *Ingulphus*, in his History of the Abby of *Croyland* \*, says, that in the Reign of *Edgar*, the Treasure of that Monastery amounted to ten thousand Pounds, besides *Holy Vessels*, *Shrines* and the like. This was a very great Sum, considering that *Religious House* had not been re-built 30 Years. Hence may be guess'd the immense Riches of the Monasteries in those Days.

Edgar forms the Scheme of replacing the Monks in the Benefices.

Edgar was not contented with being thus liberal to the Monks, he undertook to put them in Possession again of the *Ecclesiastical Benefices*, the which he perform'd with a high Hand. *Dunstan*, whom he had made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was the Principal Agent in this Affair. This Prelate was so much in his Favour, that *Edred's* Affection to him was nothing in comparison of *Edgar's*. As

\* He observes that in 974, in *Edgar's* Reign, one *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland* died in the 142d Year of his Age, and another in the 115th, which is the more remarkable, because that Abby was situated in a Fenny and Watery Place in *Lincolnshire*.



As he made a very considerable Figure both in this and the following Reign, it will not be amiss to take a nearer View of him. Besides, he pass'd for a *Saint* of the first *Class*, and nothing can be added to the Praises bestow'd on him by Historians.

*Dunstan*, the Son of *Herstan*, and Nephew of *Athelm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was born at *Glassenbury* in 925. He spent his youthful Years with his Uncle the Archbishop, who took care to have him instructed in all the Sciences, as far as that Age of Ignorance wou'd permit. He excell'd particularly in *Musick*, *Painting* and *Engraving*, in which he took great Delight all his Life. As soon as he had finish'd his Studies, the Archbishop recommended him to King *Athelstan*, who sent for him to Court, but however gave him no Preferment. The Author of his Life \* pretends, the Courtiers, envying his *Virtue* and *Learning*, maliciously represented him to the King as a dissolute and scandalous Liver. Which the King believing, forbad him the Court, without examining the Truth of the Matter. Some time after the Archbishop finding the Means to undeceive the King, *Dunstan* was restor'd to Favour, and had some Lands near *Glassenbury* given him. Here he liv'd in Retirement several Years, with certain *Religious* Men, whom he had drawn thither, leading a Sort of a *Monastick* Life. *Glaston* or *Glassenbury* was antiently a small Church, founded, according to the vulgar Opinion, by *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, as hath been observ'd elsewhere. This Church having been destroy'd, *Devy*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, built another in the same Place. This being also gone to Ruin, was repair'd by twelve *Devout* Persons, who coming from *Armorica*, settled in this Place. *Ina*, King of *Wesssex*, having pull'd it down to the Ground, built a stately Church, and dedicated it to *Christ*, *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. Several Persons famous for their Piety, most of them *Irish*, retir'd to this Church, where they were maintain'd by *Edgar's* Bounty. From that time there were always *Devout* Persons, who made choice of this Place for their Retreat \*.

*Dunstan*,  
An Account  
of him.

\* Osbern.

*Glassenbury*  
Church  
and Mo-  
nastery.

See p. 83.

After

\* They are said to teach here the *Liberal Sciences*, *Musick*, *Engraving*, and the like,



Dunstan  
made Ab-  
bot,

and Bishop  
of Wor-  
cester.

After *Dunstan* had been some time at *Glassenbury*, *Edmund*, Successor to *Arbelfstan*, having taken a great Liking to him, built there a Monastery \* and made him Abbot. As *Dunstan* was a Person of great Address, he knew how to manage this Prince so dexterously, that he was very much in favour all his Reign. His Interest at Court still encreas'd under *Edred*, to whom he was *Prime Minister*, *Favorite* and *Father-Confessor*. His vast Fondness for a Monastick Life, made him use without any Caution, all his Interest to eject the *Secular Priests*, whom he heartily despis'd, and at length mortally hated; out of their *Benefices*, and to put the Monks in their Room. This Attachment to the Monks, added to his haughty Carriage, procur'd him abundance of Enemies, and drew upon him the Displeasure of *Edwy*, Successor to *Edmund*, as we have seen. The Haste *Edgar* was in to recall this Abbot from *Flanders*, is a clear Evidence he was indebted to him for the Crown of *Mercia*. Upon *Dunstan's* Return to *England*, *Edgar* promoted him to the See of *Worcester*. Some time after, the *Bishoprick* of *London* being vacant, he was entrusted with the Management of it. This has led some Writers into the Mistake of imagining he was Bishop of *Worcester* and *London* at the same time. *Edgar* never ceas'd to give him fresh Marks of his Esteem; and the high Conceit he had of him was the more confirm'd by the

\* Mr. *Cambden* says, *Dunstan* introduc'd a new Order of Monks, viz. *Benedictines*, who by the Bounty of Princes got so much Wealth as exceeded that of Kings. After they had as it were reign'd here for above 600 Years (for all their Neighbours were at their Beck) they were driven out by *Hen. VIII.* and the Monastery which was environ'd with a Wall of a Mile in Compass, and replenish'd with Stately Buildings, was by degrees entirely demolish'd. In his time there was a *Wall-Nut Tree* in the *Church Yard* (but is now gone, and a Young one in its Place) that was said never to bud before *Barnabas day* (11 of *June*) and always to shoot out its Leaves on that very Day. And also a *Hawthorn Tree* (in *Wirral Park* hard by) that budded on *Christmas Day* as if it were in *May*. This Tree has been cut down many Years; but there are some still growing in the County from Branches of the Old Tree; particularly one in the Garden of *William Stroud Esq;* Possessor of the Ground where the other stood, and another in the Garden of the *White-Hart Inn* in *Glassenbury*.

the Miracles attributed to him. The Monks took all imaginable Care to spread the Fame of them every where, and were so very particular in their Circumstances, that one must have been much freer from Prejudice than they generally were in those Days, not to have believed them. It is however very unlikely that *Edgar* himself, who was not of the Number of those weak People that suffer themselves to be so easily deceiv'd, was thoroughly convinc'd of the truth of all those Miracles. But perhaps he was of opinion, those *Pious Frauds* were no Detriment to Religion. Be this as it will, he had a very great Opinion of *Dunstan's* Sanctity. After *Athelm's* Death *Odo*, by Birth a *Dane*, was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but liv'd not long after his Installation. To him succeeded *Elfin*, who died as he was going to *Rome* for his *Pall* \*. This happening in the Beginning of *Edgar's* Reign, *Brithelm*, Bishop of *Bath*, was elected to the vacant *See*. But *Edgar* being desirous of having *Dunstan* made Archbishop, conven'd a Council, wherein he represented *Brithelm* as unqualified for so great a Post; whereupon he was order'd to return to his old *Diocese*, and *Dunstan* was chosen in his Room. This Election not being exactly Canonical, it was thought fit *Dunstan* shou'd go to *Rome*, on Pretence of receiving his *Pall*, that he might, at the same time, justify these Proceedings. The Pope, who was not ignorant how great a Sway *Dunstan* bore at the Court of *England*, and with what Zeal he had espous'd the Interest of the *Church of Rome* and of the Monks, readily confirm'd his Election, constituting him moreover his *Legate for England*, with a very extensive Authority. At his Return, he got *Osvald* his Relation made Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Ethelwold* his intimate Friend, of *Winchester*. These three *Prelates*, by holding together, intirely governed the *Church* during this Reign. *Edgar* having committed to them the Management of all *Ecclesiastical* Affairs, was not contented with granting all they desired, but

*Dunelm.*  
*Dunstan*  
made Arch-  
bishop.

\* He was frozen to death on the *Alps*, which the *Monkish* Historians interpret as a Judgment for his Disrespect to *Odo's* Grave. *Malm. l. 1. de Gest. Pont. Angl.* Others, for his *Simony*. *M. West.*



but even took a pleasure in doing them Favours, unask'd.

Dunstan  
returns to  
his Project  
of ejecting  
the Secular  
Clergy.

As soon as *Dunstan* saw his Credit was firmly establish'd, he return'd to his Grand Scheme in favour of the Monks, which he had been forc'd to drop during the Reign of *Edwy*. This Affair was not without its Difficulties. The *Great Men* of the Nation look'd upon it as a great Misfortune, that the Guidance of the *Churches* shou'd be wrested out of the Hands of the *antient* and *lawful* Governors. They were still less pleas'd with the Monks having it, who, by the Rules of their Order, and according to the Custom hitherto observ'd, were excluded from the *Pastoral Functions*, in order to employ themselves wholly in Prayer to God within the Walls of their Monasteries. Besides, they were of opinion, that instead of encouraging and enriching the Monks, it wou'd be much better to put a stop to the Peoples Zeal, who were continually bequeathing to them considerable *Legacies*, by which means Estates were pass'd away in *Mortmain*, to the great Prejudice of the Nation. It was easy therefore to see this Project wou'd meet with great opposition from the *Nobility*. But on the other hand, the People, who consider'd not things so thoroughly, were intirely in the Interest of the Monks, and extremely offended at the scandalous Lives of the *secular Clergy*, who applied the Revenues of the Church to Uses directly contrary to the Intent of the *Donors* \*. It must be confest, that the *Clergy* at that time were very ill-Livers, and that Pride, Avarice, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Luxury, openly reign'd among them. *Dunstan* and his Party did all that lay in their Power to expose these Irregularities, in order to irritate the People against their *Pastors*. They succeed'd so well in their Design, that Multitudes espous'd the Cause

\* It must be observ'd, that after the demolishing of the Abbies in *Alfred's* time, the *secular Clergy* repair'd some of the Monasteries, took possession of them, were incorporated under certain Regulations, perform'd *Divine Service* in their respective Churches, liv'd single or married as they thought fit, and stood in the same Condition with our Present *Prebendaries*.



Cause of the Monks, purely out of Contempt to the *secular Clergy*. But what did the Monks most Service, was the King's being so vigorous a Champion for them. His good Opinion of them was still increas'd by his comparing them with the *Seculars*, who indeed observ'd *no Measures* in their Excesses. And therefore this Prince thought he had done the *Church* signal Service in putting it under the Government of the Monks, whom he look'd upon as so many *Saints*. The Case standing thus, *Dunstan* found no Difficulty to perswade *Edgar* to countenance, to his utmost, a Reformation he believ'd so advantageous to the Church. To give the finishing Stroke to this Work, he conven'd a Council, in hopes that their Authority, together with the King's, would surmount all Obstacles. *Edgar* was present in Person, and made a Speech which plainly shew'd how greatly he was prejudic'd in their Favour. As this *Harangue* manifestly discovers the Disposition of the King, of *Dunstan*, and of the other *Directors* of the Affairs of the Church, with regard to the *Secular Clergy*, it will not perhaps be amiss to give the *Reader* the *whole* of it; and the rather, as it relates to one of the principal Events of this Reign.

" Almighty God having vouchsafed of his infinite  
 " Mercy to shew his Goodness to us in a remarkable Man-  
 " ner, 'tis most reasonable, *Reverend Fathers*, we should  
 " exert our Endeavours to make a suitable Return. That  
 " we are in Possession of this plentiful Country, is not  
 " owing to the Strength of our own, but to the Help of  
 " his all-powerful Arm, who has been pleas'd to manifest  
 " his Loving-kindness towards us. 'Tis but just therefore  
 " we should bring our selves, our Souls and Bodies, in  
 " Subjection to him, who has subdued all things for us,  
 " and should take Care that all that are under us, should be  
 " obedient to his Laws. It is my Office, *Reverend Fa-*  
 " *thers*, to administer Justice, without respect of Persons;  
 " to repress the Rebellious; to punish the Sacrilegious;  
 " to protect the Poor and Weak from the Hand of the  
 " Oppressor. It is my Business also to take care that the  
 " Church and her Ministers, the holy Fraternities of the

*Edgar's  
 Harangue  
 to the  
 Council;*

“ *Religious*, have all things necessary to their Subsistence  
 “ and well-Being. But it is your Duty to examine into  
 “ the Life and Conversation of the *Clergy*. To you it  
 “ belongs to see that they live agreeably to their Profession;  
 “ That they are Sober, Temperate, Chaste, Hospitable  
 “ to the *Poor* and the *Stranger*: That they are Careful in  
 “ the Administration of their Office, Constant in their  
 “ Instructions to the People. In a word, that they are  
 “ worthy of the glorious Character of the Ministers of  
 “ Jesus Christ. With Submission be it spoken, *Reverend*  
 “ *Fathers*, had you taken due Care of these things, I  
 “ shou’d not have had the Dissatisfaction of hearing from  
 “ all Hands the enormous Crimes, daily committed by the  
 “ *Clergy* of this Land. I insist not on the Smallness of  
 “ their *Tonsure*, contrary to the *Canons* of the Church,  
 “ on their Effeminacy in their Habits, on their Haughti-  
 “ ness in their Gestures, on their immodest Discourses,  
 “ which plainly show all is not right *within*. I omit their  
 “ Negligence with regard to *Divine Service*; hardly will  
 “ they vouchsafe their Company at the *publick Prayers*,  
 “ and when they come to Church to celebrate the *Holy*  
 “ *Mysteries*, one wou’d think they are going to *Act a Play*.  
 “ But the chief Subject of my Complaint, I speak it with  
 “ extreme Regret, is what ministers Occasion of Grief to  
 “ the *Good*, and of Joy to the *Prophane*, I mean the lewd  
 “ and scandalous Lives of the *Clergy*. They spend their  
 “ Days in Diversions, Entertainments, Drunkenness and  
 “ Debauchery. Their Houses may be said to be so many  
 “ *Sinks* of Lewdness, *Publick Stages*, and *Receptacles* of  
 “ Libertines. There they have *Gaming*, *Dancing*, and  
 “ *obscene Singing*. There they pass the Night in Rioting  
 “ and Drunkenness. ’Tis thus, *Reverend Fathers*, ’tis thus  
 “ the Bounty of my Predecessors to the Church, and their  
 “ Charities for the Maintenance of the Poor; and what is  
 “ more, the adorable Blood of our Saviour, are consum’d.  
 “ Was it for this that our Ancestors exhausted their Treas-  
 “ ures? Was it for this they were so liberal of their E-  
 “ states? Was it to deck the Concubines of the Priests,  
 “ to provide for them splendid Entertainments, to fur-  
 “ nish



“ nish them with *Dogs* and *Hawks*, that our Forefathers  
 “ display’d their Munificence to the Church? These are  
 “ the Crimes which the *People* complain of in Private, and  
 “ the Soldiers in Publick, which are sung in the Streets,  
 “ and acted on the Stage; and yet they are forgiven, they  
 “ are overlook’d, they are conniv’d at by you! Where is  
 “ now the Sword of *Levi*, and the Zeal of *Simeon*?  
 “ Where is the Wrath of *Moses* against the Worshippers  
 “ of the *Golden Calf*? Where is the Indignation of *St.*  
 “ *Peter* against *Simon the Magician*? Imitate, Reverend  
 “ *Fathers*, imitate the Zeal of these holy Persons, and fol-  
 “ low the Way of Righteousness, shown you by the  
 “ Lord. It is high time for you to draw the Sword of  
 “ *St. Peter*, whilst I make use of the Great *Constantine’s*.  
 “ Let us join our Forces to expell the *Lepers* out of the  
 “ *Temple*, to cleanse the *Sanctuary*, and to cause the Lord  
 “ to be serv’d by the true Sons of *Levi*, who said to his *Deut.*  
 “ *Father*, and to his *Mother*, *I know you not*, and to his xxxvi. 9.  
 “ *Brethren*, *I know not who you are*. Let the Disrespect  
 “ to the *Relicks* of the *Saints*, and the daily prophaning  
 “ of the holy Altars, rouse you up. Be mov’d at the  
 “ great Abuse of the Piety of our Forefathers. One of  
 “ my Ancestors, you all know, dedicated to the Church  
 “ the *Tithes* of the Kingdom: The glorious *Alfred*, my  
 “ Great-Grand-Father, laid out his Revenues in Religious  
 “ Uses. You are not Ignorant of the great Benefactions  
 “ of my Father and Uncle, which it wou’d be highly  
 “ Dishonourable so soon to forget, seeing the Altars are  
 “ still adorn’d with them. You, O *Dunstan*, Father of  
 “ *Fathers*, raise your Imagination a little I pray you, and  
 “ and fancy you behold my Father looking down from  
 “ Heaven, and expostulating with you in this Manner:  
 “ *It was you that advis’d me to the Building of so many*  
 “ *Churches and Monasteries*. *It was you I made choice of*  
 “ *for my spiritual Guide, and the Inspector of my Behavi-*  
 “ *our*. *Did not I always obey your Voice? Did I not al-*  
 “ *ways prefer your Advice before Wealth? How frankly*  
 “ *did I lay out my Treasures, when you said the Word?*  
 “ *My Charities were always ready when you call’d for them.*



“ Whatever was desir’d for the Church was immediately  
 “ granted. If you complain’d the Monks were short in their  
 “ Conveniences, they were forthwith supplied. You us’d to  
 “ tell me, such Liberalities brought forth immortal Fruit,  
 “ and were highly meritorious, since they were expended in  
 “ supporting the Servants of God, and maintaining the Poor.  
 “ And is it not an intolerable Shame, they shou’d be laid out  
 “ in adorning and decking a pack of Prostitutes? Are these  
 “ the Fruits of my Benefactions? Are these the Effects of  
 “ your glorious Promises? These, O *Dunstan*, are the  
 “ Complaints of the King my Father. What can you  
 “ Answer to this Charge? I am convinc’d that you have  
 “ hitherto been unblameable; when you saw a Thief you  
 “ consented not to him, neither have you been Partaker  
 “ with the Adulterers. No, you have endeavour’d to cor-  
 “ rect these Abuses. You have argued, exhorted, threat-  
 “ ned. But since these Means have prov’d in vain, ’tis  
 “ time to apply more effectual Remedies. You have here  
 “ ready to assist you, the Reverend Father *Ethelwold*  
 “ Bishop of *Winchester*, and the venerable *Oswald* Bishop  
 “ of *Worcester*. To you three I refer the Management of  
 “ this important Affair. Exert the *Episcopal* in Conjun-  
 “ ction with the *Regal* Authority, to expell from the  
 “ Church of God the disorderly Clergy, and put in such  
 “ as live regularly in their Room \*.

After the King had made so full a Declaration of his Mind,  
 the Friends of the *Seculars* durst no longer oppose *Dun-*  
*stan’s* Designs, perceiving it would be to no purpose. A  
 little after, the *Secular Priests* were expell’d from the Mo-  
 nasteries, and the *Regulars* put in their Place. *Ethelwold*  
 Bishop of *Winchester* having led the Way in his Diocess,  
 was quickly follow’d by *Dunstan* and *Oswald*, and all the  
 other Bishops, who being Monks, without much Sollici-  
 tation,

\* *Collier* observes this Speech is rais’d and polish’d in the Original  
 much above the *Elocution* of the *Tenth Century*; and therefore says, he  
 shou’d have suppos’d *Josselin* (Archbishop *Parker’s* Secretary) might  
 have work’d the Matter he found into a brighter Form, had he not  
 met with this Harangue in *Rievallensis*, an antient Historian. l. 3.  
 p. 190.

tation, copied after these three Prelates. The ancient Historians, for the most Part, represent those Days as the *Golden Age*, and as the happiest *England* ever knew.

Perhaps it will seem strange, that the *Secular Clergy* Remarks on the Invektives against the Secular Clergy. should at this time be more bitterly inveigh'd against than in the following *Centuries*, when the Lives of the Priests were no less scandalous. To account for this, it must be observ'd, that the *Popes* had for some Time prohibited the Clergy from marrying, and were very severe to all who refus'd to comply with their *Decrees*. This Prohibition, which, at this Day, is a *fundamental* Article in the *Church of Rome*, met at first with great Opposition, especially in *England*, which set the *Popes* upon leaving no Stone unturn'd to bring the *English Priests* to a Compliance. *Dunstan's* Interest, and his Address in bringing *Edgar* into the *Scheme*, were mighty Helps in this Business. We must therefore carry in our Minds this Prohibition against the Clergy's marrying, in order to comprehend the Reason of the Outcries of the Monks and their Favourers against the *Seculars*, and to judge how far their Complaints are to be credited. Though 'tis but too true, that the Priests at that Time led very bad Lives, yet that was not the thing that drew this Storm upon them. It was their marrying which gave the Offence, and which their Enemies wou'd fain have thought a more heinous Crime than *Concubinage*, or any other they could lay to their Charge. Their Wives were always call'd *Concubines*, or by a more opprobrious Name. But after all the Endeavours of the Court of *Rome*, this pretended Abuse could not be reform'd till the End of the twelfth *Century*, when the *Celibacy* of the Clergy was establish'd, after it had been on the Anvil above 300 Years.

The Monks were bound in Gratitude to make a suitable return for the Service *Edgar* had done them. Accordingly the *Monkish* Writers have endeavour'd, by Observations on Edgar's Character, and Encomiums given him by the Monks. their *excessive* Commendations, to have him look'd upon as a true *Saint*. But at the same time, either for want of due Attention, or for some other Reason, they have given us some Particulars relating to his Life, which quite destroy



stroy the high Opinion they would fain make us have of him. Indeed, to consider him with a View only to his *Political* Actions, it must be confest he was a great Prince. But a *great King*, and a *great Saint*, are two very different Things. For Instance, it is a difficult Matter to justify, by the Rules of the Gospel, a bloody Execution, done by *Edgar's* Order in the Isle of *Thanet*, upon a very slight Occasion, as Historians do allow. What might not these same Historians have said of his *unruly* Lust, and *vicious* Inclination to Women, of which I am now going to give a few Instances, who publish'd to the World that the Soul of his Brother *Edwy* was about to be dragg'd into Hell for having had but a *single* Mistress?

It is easy to see, if *Edgar* had not purchas'd the good Opinion of the Monks by his excessive Favours to them, they wou'd have given him no better Quarter than they had done his Predecessor.

Edgar's A-  
mounts.

To conclude the Reign of *Edgar*, which was disturbed neither by *Foreign* nor *Domestick* Wars, it remains only that I give an Account of his *Amours*, which have something Particular in them, and which plainly show his *good* Qualities were not without a Mixture of *bad* ones. His first

\**Wilfrida*. *Mistress* was a *Nun* \*, whom he took by Force out of a *Convent*, and whom *Dunstan* could not prevail upon him to send back again. He had a Daughter by her nam'd *Editha*, who was greatly celebrated for her *Sanctity*. It is true, he atton'd for his Crime by not wearing his Crown during seven Years. A *severe Penance* indeed for a Fault, his *Confessor* ought to have looked upon as a Piece of *Sacrilege*! But this is not the first Time the Sins of Princes have been extenuated, and the Rigour of their *Penance* mightily aggravated. His second Mistress, whom some call his lawful Wife, was *Elfleda*, surnam'd *the Fair*, from her Complexion. By her he had a Son call'd *Edward*, who succeeded him. An extraordinary Adventure gain'd him a third *Mistress*. Going one Day by *Andover*, he took up his Lodging at a Lord's House, who had a very beautiful Daughter, with whom he fell passionately in Love at first Sight. As he was very violent in his Love-fits, he  
resolv'd

Malm.



resolv'd to gratify his Passion without Delay, so command-  
ed the young Lady to be brought to his Bed, without  
troubling himself with obtaining her Consent. The Mo-  
ther of the Lady not being able to bear the Thoughts of  
her Daughter's being the King's Concubine; and on the  
other Hand, dreading by her Denial to bring his Dis-  
pleasure upon herself and whole Family, bethought her of  
this Expedient. She prevail'd upon one of her *Waiting-  
Women* to lye with the King instead of her Daughter. At  
break of Day, the King perceiving his Bedfellow was go-  
ing to rise, would not let her, by which means she was  
forc'd to discover the whole Cheat. He at first was ex-  
tremely nettled at his having been thus put upon. But the  
good liking he had taken to the Girl, moderating his An-  
ger, and giving him time to reflect on the Dishonour he  
design'd his Host, he readily forgave the Trick he had  
been serv'd. He kept this Girl as his *Mistress* 'till he mar-  
ried.

As *Edgar's* Amours, it seems, were to have something particular in them, so his Marriage was not to be without something extraordinary. He had been inform'd that *Or-  
dang*, Earl of *Devonshire*, had a Daughter the greatest Beau-  
ty in *England*, upon which he resolv'd to marry her, if she  
came up to the Description given of her. However, as  
he was unwilling to make any Advances he shou'd have  
reason to repent, he made Earl *Ethelwold* his Favorite,  
his Confident in this Affair, and order'd him to go upon  
some Pretence, and see whether the Lady's Beauty was as  
great as Fame had reported it to be. *Ethelwold* being ar-  
riv'd at the Earl of *Devonshire's*, had no sooner cast his  
Eyes on *Elfrida* his Daughter, but he became desperately  
enamour'd with her. His Passion was so violent, that  
blotting out all Remembrance of the King his Master's  
Favours, it hurried him on to demand the lovely *Elfrida*  
for himself. His Request being granted, he was married  
in as private a Manner as possible, making his Father-in-  
Law believe he had important Reasons for not divulging  
his Marriage. Returning soon after to Court, he told  
the King there was nothing extraordinary in *Elfrida*, that  
he

*Edgar's  
Marriage.*

he was amaz'd the World should talk so much of her Charms ; that in all Appearance the Fame of her Beauty was owing more to her Father's *Riches* than any thing else. This Report, which was far from inflaming the King's Love, had the Effect *Ethelwold* expected. *Edgar* disgusted at it, laid aside all Thoughts of his intended Marriage. *Ethelwold* perceiving the King was grown perfectly cool upon the Matter, represented to him one Day, that though the *Fortune* of the Earl of *Devonshire's* Daughter was nothing to a King, yet it would be the *making* of any Subject ; and therefore he humbly desir'd his leave, to make his Addresses to her, as being the greatest *Heiress* in the *Kingdom*. *Edgar*, who had lost all Inclination to *Elfrida*, very willingly granted his Request, and even appear'd extremely well pleas'd that he was likely to marry to so great an Advantage. *Ethelwold*, as soon as he had got the King's Consent, return'd to his Wife, and solemniz'd his Wedding publickly. But fearing his Spouse should appear too beautiful in the King's Eyes, he kept her on some Pretence at his Country Seat, without suffering her to come to Court.

How cautious soever *Ethelwold* went to work, it was not possible his Treachery should be long a Secret. Favorites are seldom without some private Enemies, who desire nothing more than to have an Opportunity of ruining them. *Edgar* at length was inform'd of the whole Truth, but dissembling the Matter, he was willing, before he shew'd his Resentment, to be satisfy'd with his own Eyes of the Truth of what had been told him. With this View he took an Occasion to go into those Parts where *Ethelwold* kept his Wife : When he was near the Place, he told him he had a mind to visit his Lady, of whom he had formerly heard so many *fine* Things. *Ethelwold* was Thunder-struck at this, and did all he could to divert the King from his Purpose : But his Artifices were all in vain, and served only to confirm the King the more in his Resolution. All he could obtain, was leave to go before, on Pretence of preparing for the King's Reception. As soon as he came into his House, he threw himself at his

Wife's



Wife's Feet, and confessing what he had done for the Sake of possessing her, conjur'd her to use all her Endeavours to conceal her Charms from the King, who was but too susceptible of Love's Flames. *Elfrida* promis'd to do as he desired, but was bent however upon breaking her Word. No sooner was he gone to meet the King, but she set off her natural Beauty with all the Art she was Mistress of. The Event answer'd her Expectations. The Moment *Edgar* cast his Eyes on her, he fell desperately in Love, and from that Instant was resolv'd to make her his own. The better to effect his Design, he pretended he saw nothing extraordinary in *Elfrida*; at which the Husband was overjoy'd. Accordingly he took his Leave of her with a seeming Indifference, but at the same Time in his Heart rag'd Love and Revenge; which of all the Passions, raise the most violent Emotions in the Soul of Man. Quickly after, he order'd *Ethelwold* to go for *Northumberland*, on Pretence of some urgent Affairs. But the unfortunate Earl never perform'd his Journey. He was found dead in a Wood, where it was thought at first he had been murder'd by Robbers. But People's Eyes were soon open'd, when they saw that the King, instead of making Inquiry after the Murderers, was married to the Widow. Some say, that *Edgar* slew *Ethelwold* with his own Hand at a hunting Match \*.

After what has been said, it is easy to see, that there was a great Mixture of good and bad Qualities in this Prince, and that the Commendations given him, are in many Respects carried too far. This was the Effect of the great Prejudice of the Monks in his Favour, for his so vigorous espousing their Cause. One of them makes no

*Edgar's  
Character.*

*Fl. Wig.*

\* *Malmsbury* says, he took *Ethelwold* into a Wood (*Harewood Forest*) 1. 2. *de Gest.* upon pretence of Hunting, and kill'd him there with his Lance. The natural Son of this Nobleman happening to come in at this Accident, and viewing the dead Body of his Father, the King sternly ask'd him, *How he liked the Game?* The Youth replied calmly, that whatsoever pleased the King, ought not to be displeasing to him. This courtly Answer, on so moving an Occasion, surpriz'd the King, and gave him a strong Affection for the young Man ever after. *Elfrida* built a Nunnery in the Place where her Husband was slain.

£ f f

Scruple



Scruple to say; *Edgar* was to the *English*, what *Romulus* was to the *Romans*, *Cyrus* to the *Persians*, *Alexander* to the *Macedonians*, *Arfaces* to the *Parthians*, and *Charlemain* to the *French*. But it is no hard Matter to perceive, that this Encomium raises his Character too high, since he never came up to the Great Men he is put in the Ballance with. Accordingly, *After-Ages*, less prepossess'd in his Favour, have rank'd him among more suitable Company, in a much lower Class. Very judicious Historians have taken him from among the *Saints*, where his Flatterers had plac'd him, and have not scrupled even to reckon him in the Number of the vilest of Princes (a). This Notion of him may be grounded on what is related of *Canutus the Great*, who upon mention of the Sanctity of *Editha*, *Edgar's* Daughter, said, *He could never believe it was possible for the Daughter of so wicked a Father to be a Saint*. This makes it suspected that the *Monkish* Historians have pass'd over in Silence several of *Edgar's* Actions, which wou'd have made us conceive a very different Idea of their Hero, from what they have given us.

975,  
Edgar's  
Death, and  
Children.

*Edgar* reign'd sixteen Years from the Death of his Brother *Edwy*. He died in 975, in the 32<sup>d</sup> Year of his Age, leaving behind him two Sons and a Daughter. *Edward*, his eldest Son, who was born of a Concubine, or at least of a very doubtful Marriage. *Ethelred*, his youngest, was the Son of the beautiful *Elfrida*. *Editha*, his Daughter by his first Mistress, passed her Days in a Nunnery, and after her Death, was honour'd with the Title of *Saint*.

*Edgar* had too well deserv'd of them, who look'd upon themselves as authoris'd to reward their *Votaries* with a *Sainthood*, not to have a Place in the *Kalendar*. But as there are no other Proofs of his Sanctity during his Life, but his Affection to the *Monks*, and his Founding *Monasteries*

(a) Dr. Burnet in the Preface to his History of the Reformation, places *Edgar* in the same Class with *Brunichild* and *Irene*.

*nafteries* \*, it is pretended that he gave more substantial ones after his Death. It was given out, that when his Body was taken out of the Coffin, in order to be put into a stately *Shrine*, it was as fresh as when he resign'd his last Breath. It was further affirm'd, that the *Shrine* being made too short, tho' he was very little of Stature \*<sup>i</sup>, and some Body daring to sever his Head from his Body, the Blood flow'd out in great Abundance. After such convincing Proofs as these, of the *Sanctity* of this Prince, his Body was plac'd near the *High Altar* of *Glassenbury* Church, where it is said to have wrought afterwards several Miracles.

## 13. EDWARD. II. the Martyr.

U pon *Edgar's* Decease, they who had with Impatience beheld the great Power of the Monks, thought they had a good opportunity to reduce them to their *Primitive* State. *Elfier*, Duke of *Mercia*, their sworn Enemy, outed them of all the *Benefices* they were in Possession of in that *Province*, and put the *Seculars* in their Room. Some other Lords did the same Thing in other Places. But the Duke of *East-Anglia*, and several other Great Men, firmly adher'd to *Dunstan* and his Party. This Division, upon account of the Monks, caus'd such Heart-Burnings among the *Nobles*, that they were upon the Point of coming to Blows. The Breach still grew wider, when they came to decide who shou'd succeed to the

*Diffensions*  
on account  
of the  
Monks.

F f f 2

Kingdom.

\* It is observ'd that his Building so many *Monasteries* (48 says *Ingulphus*) prov'd one great Occasion of the *Danes* conquering *England*; for by these Means he exhausted the Treasury, and gave great Portions of Lands for the Maintenance of the Monks, who refus'd his Son *Ethelred* Assistance according to his Necessity.

\*<sup>i</sup> Tho' *Edgar* as to his Person was both Low and Slender, yet was he so well proportion'd, that he is said to contend often with such as were thought Strongest in his Court; and dislik'd nothing more than that they shou'd spare him out of Respect, or Fear of hurting him.

Kingdom. Several were of opinion that the Crown was devolv'd to *Ethelred*, pretending there was a Flaw in *Edward's* Birth, and that his Mother was never lawfully married to *Edgar*. But *Dunstan* and all the Bishops stuck to *Edward*, pleading his being nam'd his Successor by *Edgar* in his Last *Will* and *Testament*. To this was added another and no less powerful Motive, to induce them to espouse his Interest, which was, they expected to have the Management of all Affairs under *Edward*, which they had no Room to hope under his Brother, seeing his Mother *Elfrida* did not seem much inclin'd to be guided by their Counsels.

*Dunstan crowns Edward by his own Authority.*

In the mean time, *Ethelred's* Party being the most numerous, *Edward* was in Danger of being excluded, if *Dunstan* did not find some Means to break their Measures. As he found he was back'd by the People out of their High Conceit of his Sanctity, he made use of their good Inclinations to bring about his Designs. In the midst of the Publick Debates which of the two Princes shou'd succeed, *Dunstan* rises up on a sudden, and taking Prince *Edward* by the hand, leads him towards the Church, attended by the other Bishops and a great Crowd of People. As soon as he comes there, he anoints the young Prince *King*, without so much as minding the Oppositions of the other Party. The Nobles bemoan'd their falling once more under the Administration of that Imperious Prelate. But as they saw the People appear'd in his Favour, they were forc'd to submit.

*The Contest between the Priests and the Monks is reviv'd.*

*Edward* was but 14 Years old when he began to reign under the Guardianship of *Dunstan*, who immediately took all the Power into his own Hands. As soon as he was fix'd in the *Regency*, he labour'd with all his Might to keep the Monks in possession of the *Benefices* they had been put into in the last Reign, and made use of the King's Authority to that End. But he met with greater Opposition than he expected. As the King was but a *Minor*, the Orders given in his Name, were not so readily complied with. *Dunstan* conven'd several *Councils* about this Affair, But perhaps his Endeavours wou'd have



have All come to Nothing, if by the Means of several Miracles, which were never wanting upon Occasion, he had not brought the People to believe, that Heaven interpos'd in this Matter.

In one of these *Councils* assembled at *Winchester*, the Majority being against the Monks, they wou'd have infallibly lost their Cause, if, on a sudden, a *Crucifix* that hung aloft in the Room, had not pronounc'd these Words with an audible Voice: *It shan't be done, it shan't be done: You have decided the Matter well hitherto, and wou'd be to blame to Change.* Astonish'd at this Oracle, the most Obstinate came in and voted for the Monks. Miracles in favour of the Monks.

Another time, at an Assembly in the same Place, *Dunstan* us'd all his Endeavours to have one *Elphegus* a Monk, chosen *Dean* of that Church: but the People were for having that Dignity conferr'd on a *Secular Priest*. The Contest ran so high, that there was like to be a Sedition, which wou'd have been of dangerous Consequence. But St. *Andrew* the Apostle on a sudden revealing to St. *Dunstan* in the Audience of all the People, that the Monk ought to be elected, he was immediately install'd. These and several other Miracles, too many to be inserted here, not having been able to remove all Obstacles in the Way of the Monks, there was one at last that stopp'd the Mouths of their most strenuous Opposers. Eadmer.

*Dunstan* had conven'd a Council at *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, to determine the Controversy about the Monks keeping Possession of their *Benefices*. This was one of those *mixt Conventions* spoken of hereafter, where the King and all the *Nobility* were present, as well as the Bishops and Abbots. In all Appearance, the Affair wou'd have been decided against the Monks, considering the great Number of their Opposers there present. But whilst they were warmly disputing the Matter on both Sides, it happen'd that the Floor of the Room broke under the Company, and crush'd several to Death. The Beam on which *Dunstan's* Chair was plac'd, was the only one that did not give way, 978. A Remarkable Accident at the Council of Calne.

by

by which Means he came off unhurt, whilst scarce a Man besides himself in this numerous Assembly escap'd, being either kill'd or bruis'd. This was enough to convince the People, that the Monks were the Favorites of Heaven, since their Head and Protector was so wonderfully preserv'd. There are some malicious People however, who have insinuated that *Dunstan* had prevented the King, contrary to Custom, from being in the Council that Day. After this seasonable Accident, the Monks were left unmolested, either because the miraculous Preservation of *Dunstan* had made an Impression upon the Minds of his Enemies, or because their most potent Opposers perish'd in their Fall.

979.  
The tragical  
End of  
King Ed-  
ward.

Besides these Ecclesiastical Matters, we find nothing remarkable in the Reign of *Edward*, but his tragical Death in 979, four Years after he came to the Throne. The Story is thus related by the greatest Part of Historians. *Edward* passing one Day, as he was returning from Hunting, near *Corf-Castle* \*, where his Mother-in-Law *Elfrida* resided with her Son *Ethelred*, rid off from his Company in order to give her a Visit. *Elfrida* being told the King was at the Gate, ran to receive him, and urg'd him very earnestly to unlight and come in to refresh himself. But as the King's Design was only to pay his Respects to his Mother-in-Law as he went by her Castle, he only desir'd a Glas of Wine to drink her Health. Whether *Elfrida* had already form'd a Design of destroying the King, in order to make way for her Son to the Crown, or whether that favourable Opportunity had put the Thought in her Head, the young King had no sooner lifted the Glas to his Mouth, but a Ruffian stabb'd him in the Back with a Dagger. Perceiving himself wounded, he set Spurs to his Horse,

\* In the Island *Purbeck* in *Dorsetshire*. This Castle is a considerable Piece of Antiquity; the Foundation whereof is not clear'd up by History. After the Strength and Safety of the Realm began to consist in Castles, this was one of the most principal belonging to the Crown. It was repair'd by *Henry VII.* and in the Civil Wars was a Garrison for the King, defended by the Owner; Lord Chief Justice *Banks*. *Camb. Add. 10 Dorset.*



Horfe, which foon carried him out of Sight. But not being able to keep his Saddle by reason of Loss of Blood, he fell off his Horfe. To compleat his Misfortune, his Foot hung in the Stirrop, and by that Means he was dragg'd a good Way before his Horfe stopp'd, juft by a poor blind Woman's House that stood in the Road. To this House they that had been fent after him by *Elfrida*, trac'd him by his Blood, found him dead, and his Body fadly torn. *Elfrida* imagining ſhe could conceal this horrid Deed, it being known only to her *Domesticks*, order'd the Corps to be thrown into a Well. But it was found there a few Days after, and carried to *Warham* \*, from whence it was remov'd to *Shaftsbury*, and laid in a Monastery founded by King *Alfred*. They pretend it work'd many Miracles there, that a blind Man was reftor'd to his Sight, and a Cripple to his Limbs, by only touching the Body. The poor Woman alfo, in whoſe Houſe his Body lay one Night, is ſaid to be cur'd by his Interceſſion; and that the Well, into which he had been thrown, was endued with the Virtue of healing ſeveral Sorts of Diſtempers. In fine, 'tis reported that *Elfrida*, having a Mind to know the Truth of theſe Miracles, was reſolv'd to go to the Place herſelf, but her Horſe, in ſpight of all her Endeavours, would not ſtir one Step forward. With ſuch Prodigies as theſe do the Hiſtories of thoſe Times abound. Thus far is certain, *Elfrida*, willing to atone for her Crime, founded two *Nunneries*, one at *Ambresbury* \*, and another at *Whorwel* near *Andover*. In this laſt ſhe ſhut herſelf up in order to do *Penance* during the Reſidue of her Days. She is ſaid to have frequently cover'd her Body all over

\* Dorſet-  
ſhire.

\* In *Wiltſhire*, ſo call'd from *Ambroſius*, who built here a Monastery for 300 Monks, to pray for the Souls of the *British* Noblemen ſlain by *Hengiſt*. The Tomb of *Quinever*, *Arthur's* Wife, was found here within this laſt Century, and this Inſcription on the Wall in Maſſy-Gold Letters, R, G, A. C. 600. The Antiquity of which is very ſuſpicious, ſince ſhe muſt have out-liv'd *Arthur* 50 Years; and beſides, ſhe is ſaid by Hiſtorians of Credit to have been buried at *Glaſſenbury*. Queen *Elfrida's* Nunnery is famous for Queen *Eleanor's* being a Nun there; and alſo *Mary* Daughter to *Edward I.* with 13 Noblemen's Daughters, were veil'd here on *Assumption Day*, 1285. *Cambd. Add. to Wilt.*



over with little *Crosses*, to keep off the *Devil*, whom she had but too much reason to fear.

I don't know upon what Grounds *Edward* was made both a *Saint* and a *Martyr*, unless it was pretended he was murder'd for his great Affection to *Dunstan* and the *Monks*. Indeed that was sufficient *then* to procure him these glorious Titles. It is certain, that in those Days, all the Favourers of the *Monks* pass'd for so many *Saints*, and their Enemies for the fit Objects of God's Wrath. However this be, this Prince is generally known by the Name of *Edward the Martyr* \*.

\* King *Edward's* Martyrdom is kept on three several Days; on the Day he was murder'd, and at the two Removes of his Body. See *Martyr. Angl.* 18 of *March*, and *Feb.* and *June* 20. He has likewise the Honour of standing in the *Roman Martyrology*, *March* 18. Where *Baronius* takes Notice of a Letter in *Pope Innocent IV's Register*, for the keeping *St. Edward's Festival*. *Coll. l.* 3.



T H E

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*The STATE of the Church of  
ENGLAND, from the  
Union of the Seven Kingdoms,  
to the End of the Reign of  
EDWARD the Martyr.*

THE continual Wars in *England*, during the hundred and fifty Years we have just run through, were no less fatal to the *Church* than to the *State*. They produc'd an extreme Corruption of *Manners*, and a profound Ignorance all over the Kingdom. The Destruction of the *Churches* and *Monasteries*, the Plundering what was design'd for their Subsistence, and the Necessity of defending themselves against the *Danes*, and of being taken up in the Exercise of their Arms, turn'd Multitudes from the Study of Religion. It is no wonder therefore, if during such troublesome Times, we meet with but very little Matter for an *Ecclesiastical History*. To this may be added, that the greatest Part of the Monasteries where the *Memoirs* of what pass'd in *Church* and *State* were laid up, having been demolish'd, the Historians who have wrote of those Times, were depriv'd of their Assistance. The Reader therefore must expect to find but few remarkable Events relating to Religion, but few *Councils* to inform us of the *Doctrine* and *Faith* of the *Church of England*, and but very few *learned Men*, whose Writings might afford us some Light. It will be necessary however, to relate the principal Matters that are come down to us, as they will be of Service in clearing up the Events of future and more happy Times.

G g g

During

During the Reign of *Egbert* nothing happen'd in the Church worth Notice. *Ethelwulph's* Reign furnishes us with a Particular, which though mention'd elsewhere \*, it will not be amiss to speak a little more fully to in this Place ; I mean the *Grant* of the *Tithes*. The *Charter* runs thus :

Ethel-  
wulph's  
Charter for  
the Tithes.

" I, *ETHELWULPH*, by the Grace of God  
" King of the *West-Saxons*, &c. with the Advice of the  
" *Bishops*, *Earls*, and all other Persons of Distinction in  
" my Dominions, have, for the Health of my Soul, the  
" Good of my People, and the Prosperity of my King-  
" dom, taken the prudent and serviceable Resolution of  
" granting the tenth Part of the Lands throughout my  
" whole Kingdom, to the Church and Ministers of Re-  
" ligion, to be enjoy'd by them, with all the Privileges of  
" a *Free Tenure*, and discharg'd from all Services due to  
" the *Crown*, and all other Incumbrances incident to *Lay-*  
" *Fees*. This *Grant* has been made by us to the Church,  
" in Honour of *Jesus Christ*, the *Blessed Virgin*, and *All-*  
" *Saints*, and out of regard to the *Paschal Solemnity*, and  
" that Almighty God might vouchsafe his Blessing to us  
" and our Posterity. Dated at the Palace of *Wilton*, in  
" the Year 854, *Indiction* the second, at the *Feast* of  
" *Easter*.

Remarks on  
this Char-  
ter.

The *Terms*, *Date* and *Subscriptions* of this *Charter*, have induc'd several learned Men to believe it spurious. But without entring into the Controversy, I shall content myself with observing, that long before this *Charter*, the *Clergy* of *England* claim'd a Right to the *Tithes*, if they were not already in actual Possession of them. This is evident from the seventeenth *Canon* of the *Council* of *Calcuth* \*, held in 785, where we find they urg'd the Payment of *Tithes* from the Law of *Moses*. It is true, King *Ethelwulph* might have a Mind to confirm the *Rights* of the *Clergy*, by granting them a *Charter* for the same. But in case he did so, it is somewhat strange he shou'd pass over in Silence the *Divine Right* of *Tithes*, on which the *Clergy* chiefly insisted. If this *Charter* therefore is not to be look'd upon as a downright Forgery, it seems at least to be  
of



of very doubtful Authority. Add to this, that by *the Tenth Part of the Lands*, must necessarily be meant *the Tenth Part of the Profits*, which must be own'd to be a very forc'd Interpretation, especially in a *Primordial Act*, such as this is \*.

In the Reigns of *Ethelbald*, *Ethelbert*, and *Ethelred I*, we have Nothing relating to the Church, but the Destruction of the Monasteries, and the *pathetic* Descriptions Historians give us of the Fury of the *Danes* against the Monks. 'Tis on these things they chiefly dwell, as on Events they thought most proper for History. They particularly regret the Downfall of the three famous Monasteries of *Croyland*, *Ely* and *Medeshamsted*, whose *Monks* were all massacred, and the *Libraries* burnt \*<sup>1</sup>.

The pretended Martyrdom of *Edmund King of East-Anglia* wou'd require our Notice, had it not been spoken of before \*. I call it *pretended*, because it does not appear that this Prince lost his Life in any of those Causes, which make the Sufferer a *Martyr*. Otherwise, we must say that there were in *England* as many *Martyrs* as there were Christians put to death by the *Danes*. However he stands in the *Kalendar* with that Title, and Miracles were affirm'd to be frequently wrought at his Tomb during several Ages. \*<sup>2</sup>.

Remark on  
Edmund's  
Martyr-  
dom.  
\* p. 321.

G g g 2

Tho'

\* The *Charter* here translated is in the *Monasticon*, p. 100. and is dated at *Wilton* in 854. whereas there is another *Charter* very different from this in *Ingulphus* and *Matthew of Westminster*, dated at *Winchester* in 855. To solve this Difficulty, it is suppos'd that *Ethelwulph* repeated this Grant first at *Wilton* for the *Tithes* only of his own *Demesns*, and the Year following at *Winchester* for the *Tithes* of the whole Kingdom. Tho' it must be own'd that they both seem equally to extend to all his Dominions. See *Ingulph*. p. 17. Edit. Gal. & M. West. Flor. Hist. An. 854. *Ingulphus* says, this *Charter* was made after *Ethelwulph's* return from *Rome*; but that cou'd not be, seeing he was then only King of *Kent*.

\*<sup>1</sup> See *Ingulphus*, p. 22, 23, 24. where you have a lamentable Account of the Destruction of these three Monasteries.

\*<sup>2</sup> *Matthew Westminster* says, his Head being thrown among the Briars and Thorns in the same Wood, where *Lodbroch* was murder'd by *Bern*, (See Note p. 320) the *East-Anglians*, after the *Danes* were gone, went out to see for it, and having sought in vain for some time,

Tho' I have amply insisted on every thing relating to the Reign of *Alfred*, yet it will not be improper to remind the Reader of two Particulars which may be of Use hereafter. The first is, the Ruin of the Monasteries, which was so great, that there was not a Monk left in *England*, having been all slain by the *Danes*, or forc'd to fly out of the Kingdom. Some of them perhaps took other Professions when they saw that the Loss of their Revenues had depriv'd them of the Means of their Subsistence. As soon as *Alfred* was rid of the *Danes*, he fell to building Monasteries, and furnish'd them with Foreign Monks, there being none in the Kingdom. It will seem strange no doubt, that instead of being at the Expence of building New ones, he shou'd not chuse to repair the Old, whose Walls, for the most Part, were still remaining. But it must be observ'd, that the *Secular Clergy* had taken possession of them, and lived there in common under the Direction of an *Arch-Priest*. It is plain *Alfred* saw some Inconveniency in dislodging them.

The other thing I wou'd put the Reader in mind of, is, the gross Ignorance the *English* were fallen into during the War with the *Danes*. We have already seen, in the Life of *Alfred*, the Complaints of that Prince upon this Score. 'Twas this that put him upon inviting into his Dominions as many *Learned Foreigners* as he cou'd, upon Founding the *University of Oxford*\*, and upon using several other Means to restore the *Sciences* in the Land.

*Edward*

time, the Head at last cried out, *Here, Here, Here*, and never ceas'd till they came to the Place. The Head was put to his Body, and buried with it. When they came to take up his Corps, many Years after, it was found whole and entire, and the Head grown on to the Body, without the least Scar, only a Mark round the Neck like a Scarlet Thread. *Mat. West. Fl. Hist. An. 870.*

\* There is a Passage in *Afferius* quoted by Mr. *Cambden*, that talks of a Dispute between *Grimbald*, whom *Alfred* had sent to *Oxford*, and the old Scholars settled there before. From whence it is inferr'd that *Alfred* was not the first Founder of this *University*. On the other hand 'tis objected, that this Passage in *Affer* is spurious. That it is not in the Copy publish'd by Archbishop *Parker*; that *Usher* is positive for its being interpolated, and that it speaks of things done after



*Edward the Elder*, following the Example of his Father, founded, upon the same Motive, the *University of Cambridge*, as some assert \*. I shall not here alledge the Reasons for and against the Antiquity of this Illustrious *University*, as being a Matter attended with great Difficulties, and at the same time not immediately relating to the State of the *Church*. But we have another Particular belonging to this Reign, wherein Religion is more nearly concern'd, by reason of the Consequences pretended to follow from thence, the which it will be proper to insist upon a little.

*Malmsbury* relates in his History, that in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*, Pope *Formosus* having been informed, there had been a *Vacancy* in the *West-Saxon Sees* for Seven Years

*Observation on the pretended Bull of Pope Formosus.*

after *Aster's* Death, &c. It is farther objected both against the Antiquity of *Cambridge* as well as *Oxford*, that neither of them are mention'd by *Bede*, that *Alcuin* passes them over in silence, and talks of *York* as the Seat of Learning then. That *Ingulphus* in his Descriptions of the Burning of *Libraries* and *Monasteries* by the *Danes*, says not a word of any Damage done to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*. That *Alfred* complains there were very few on this side the *Humber* that understood the *Church Prayers* in *English*, or cou'd construe *Latin*. Lastly, that had there been then in Being two famous *Universities* in *England*, what Occasion was there for his sending beyond Sea for Learned Men to instruct his Subjects? The most probable Opinion therefore is, that the *University of Oxford* was first founded by *Alfred* in 886. See Book of *Winch. Higden*. l. 6. *Harp. Malm.*

\* There is a Manuscript Charter of Privileges, lodg'd in the Library of *Clare-Hall*, said to be granted to *Cambridge* by this King *Edward*. But however some have carried back the Antiquity of this *University* to the Year 394 before *Christ*, pretending it was then founded by one *Cantaber* a *Spaniard*, and that it was restor'd by *Sigebert* King of *East-Anglia* in 630, whom others account the Founder. But it is plain from the Reasons in the Note above, that there was no such thing as any *University* at all till *Alfred's* time. And as some say \*, we have no authentick Testimony of an *University* at *Cambridge* till the Year 1110 (*Xth Hen. I.*) when *Joffrid*, Abbot of *Croyland*, sent one *Gislebert* a *Divine*, and three others to *Cambridge* to teach the *Sciences*. These Monks coming to *Cambridge*, hired a *Barn* to teach in, and in a Year's time their Audience so encreas'd, that no *House* or *Barn* was big enough to contain them. From this slender beginning, says *Petrus Blesensis*, the *University of Cambridge* grew up to a Noble Seat of Learning. The first College, viz. *Peter-House*, was founded by *Hugh Balsham* Bishop of *Ely* in 1284.

\*Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 299.



\* Malm.  
l. 2. de  
Gest. Reg.  
Ang.

\* Spelm.  
Counc.  
Vol. I.  
p. 387.

\* The Ca-  
tholick Di-  
vines An-  
swer to Sir  
Edward  
Coke, p.  
136, 137.

Years together, sent a *Bull* into *England*, in which the King and all his Subjects were excommunicated. That the King upon this conven'd a *Council*, where *Plegmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, having fully laid it before them, it was resolv'd upon, that not only the *Vacancies* shou'd be fill'd up, but that three new *Sees* shou'd be erected in *Wessex*. *Plegmund* (continues this Historian \*) took a Journey to *Rome*, to get the *Censure* taken off, and at his Return, consecrated Seven Bishops in one Day. An antient *Register* of the *Priory* of *Canterbury* speaks much to the same Purpose, but with this Addition, that the *Council* made a particular Provision for the *Cornish* Men to recover them from their *Errors* \*. By the way we are to understand, by the *Errors* of the *Cornish*, who were some of the Remains of the old *Britons*, their refusing to acknowledge the *Papal Authority*.

The *Roman Catholick* Writers make a great Flourish upon this *Bull*, and produce it as a strong Instance of the Pope's Authority, not only over the *Bishops*, but the *Kings* of *England* \*. But after all, this *Bull*, upon Examination, will be found inconsistent with *Chronology*. *Malmsbury* dates it in 904. But Pope *Formosus* died in 896, and was dragg'd out of his Grave in 897 by *Stephen* his Successor. *Baronius*, to solve this Difficulty, says the Date in *Malmsbury* is false, and shou'd be written 894 instead of 904. 'Tis true, this Correction sets the Matter right as to *Formosus*, but then the *Cardinal* falls into another *Anachronism* with regard to *Edward*, who mounted not the Throne till the Year 900. *Edward* therefore must be chang'd into *Alfred*. But no Historian mentions *Alfred's* being excommunicated. Notwithstanding all this, they are extremely loth to part with this pretended *Bull*. Some have suppos'd two *Excommunications* threatened: One by Pope *Formosus* in 894 against the Bishops only, without any Mention of King *Edward*: Another by Pope *John IX*, which menac'd the King. To support this Supposition, *Malmsbury*, who speaks of *Formosus's Bull*, and *Polydore Virgil*, who mentions Pope *John's*, are cited. But these Authorities are very insufficient,

ficient, since *Malmsbury* is plainly mistaken, either in the *Date*, or in the Name of the *Pope*; and *Polydore Virgil* does not say it was *John IX*, as is pretended, but *John X*, that threatned *Edward* with *Excommunication*, as indeed it must be, if the *Bull* was dated in 904. Thus this *Bull*, they have made so much Noise about, falls to the Ground, being inconsistent with *Chronology*.

As to the *Consecration* of the Seven Bishops mention'd by *Malmsbury*, we have not the same Reason to question the Matter of Fact. Tho' as to the time, this Circumstance is somewhat perplex'd; it is certain however, that in the Beginning of the Xth Century, there were six Bishops in *Wessex*, whereas a little before there were but three. *Ralph de Diceto* places the erecting of the three new *Sees* in 909. To reconcile this Historian with *Malmsbury*, who fixes the Date of them to 904, this Expedient is propos'd, which, if not well grounded, is at least not improbable. It is thought, that in the *Synod* or *mixt Assembly* held at *Winchester* in 904, the erection of the three new Bishopricks was determin'd. But as these new *Sees* were to be taken out of the *Dioceses* of *Winchester* and *Sherborn*, it was agreed, that this shou'd not be done till after the Death of the present Bishops, that the Revenues they had hitherto enjoy'd might not be lessen'd. Both these Bishops happening to die in 909, or perhaps a little before, and the Bishopricks of *Worcester* and *Sussex* being also vacant at the same time, *Plegmund* consecrated Seven Bishops at once, namely, *Fridstan* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Werestán* of *Sherborn*, *Kenulph* of *Worcester*, *Beornock* of *Selsey* in *Sussex*, *Eadulph* of *Crediton*, or *Kirton*, *Athelm* of *Wells*, and *Athelstan* of *Petrockstow* or *Padstow* in *Cornwal*. The three last *Sees* were the newly erected. Tho' *Malmsbury* and *Higden* affirm the new erected Bishopricks had the *Pope's* Confirmation, it is certain, at that time, and for more then 200 Years after, there was no such thing requir'd. And therefore 'tis probable, when they mention'd the *Pope's* Confirmation, they had an Eye to the Customs of their own Times.

We

Great Pri-  
vileges  
granted to  
Glaffenbu-  
ry Abby.

We meet with very few Particulars of Moment, except some *Councils* spoken of hereafter in the Reigns of *Athelstan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*. The most remarkable one, was the *Charter of Privileges* granted by *Edmund*, on Account of *Dunstan* the first Abbot, to *Glasfenbury Abby*, after it was re-built. These *Privileges* were so extraordinary, that it seem'd as if the King had a Mind to invest the *Abby* with a sort of *Sovereign Power* within the Precincts of its Jurisdiction \*.

Turketul  
rebuilds  
Croyland,

The *Abby of Croyland* was also rebuilt, in the Reign of *Edmund*, by *Turketul*, the King's Cousin and *Chancellor*. He afterwards turn'd Monk himself, and was made Abbot by *Edred*, who put him in Possession, by the Delivery of a *Pastoral Staff*, according to the Custom of those Days. *Turketul* obtain'd a very advantagious *Charter* for his *Abby*. However *Edred* refus'd to grant him the Privilege of *Sanctuary*, which that *Abby* had enjoy'd before it was destroy'd, being unwilling *Malefactors* shou'd be protected from Justice.

But is re-  
fus'd the  
Privilege of  
Sanctuary.

This Prince was entirely sway'd by *Dunstan*, who made use of his Interest, not only to put the Monks in possession of the *Abbies*, which the *Secular Clergy* had appropriated to themselves, but also of the *Benefices*. If *Edred* had not died so soon, *Dunstan*, no doubt, wou'd have settled this Affair in such a Manner, as to have made it incapable of being undone again. But this Prince dying before Matters cou'd be compleated, *Edwy* his Successor turn'd the Monks out of the *Benefices*, and even out of some of their Monasteries. To read the tragical Complaints of the *Monkish* Historians upon this Occasion, and their bitter Invectives against *Edwy*, one wou'd imagine this Prince had utterly rooted out the Christian Religion. Whereas upon a closer Inquiry, it will appear, that the Monks were dispossest only of the two Monasteries of *Abbing-ton* and *Malmsbury* \*. They were so exasperated at their

\* This *Charter* was engross'd in *Letters of Gold* in a Book of the four *Gospels*, and presented to the *Abby* by the King.

\* Or perhaps *Glaffenbury*, which were all the Monks had in *Edwy's* time, the rest were in possession of the *Seculars*. See *Timmuth. Hist. Aur. MS. l. 21. Wulstan. Vit. Ethel.*



their being thus expell'd their *Abbies*, that they stirr'd up the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians* to a Revolt, as hath been related.

There is no need of repeating here, what has already been said of the great Interest of *Dunstan* in the Reign of *Edgar*, and what he did in favour of the *Monks*. The Truth is, he can't be blam'd for exerting his Power in replacing them in the Monasteries. Though the *Religious Houses* had been deserted during the Wars, they belong'd not to the *Secular Clergy*, since they were founded purely for the *Monks*. But he is not to be so easily excus'd, for his endeavouring to introduce the *Monks* into the *Benefices*, on Pretence that the *Secular* Priests were most of them married. I shall not examine here upon what Grounds the *Councils* and *Popes* prohibited the *Clergy* from marrying. This Matter has been so fully handled by several Authors, that nothing new can be said upon this Head. I shall only Remark, that from the Conversion of the *English* to *Dunstan's* Time, the Clergy of *England* had not tied themselves up to *Celibacy*, and that *Dunstan* undertook an *unprecedented* thing, when he went about to oblige them to it, in Pursuance to the *Decrees* of the *Popes*. It has been observ'd in the Reign of *Edgar*, how *Dunstan*, countenanc'd by that Prince, gain'd his Point so far, as not indeed to oblige them to put away their Wives, but to expel them their *Benefices* for keeping them. But notwithstanding his great Interest and vast Affection to the *Monks*, he cou'd never get them into the *Northern* Monasteries. For above two hundred Years the *Abbies* in those Parts were uninhabited, and the Name of a *Monk* was scarce heard of there.

I have but little to say about the erecting new *Bishopricks*, or the removing the *Episcopal Sees* from one Place to another, at a Time when one Half of the Kingdom was in the Hands of the *Danes*, who as yet were *Pagans*. *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, being expos'd to their continual Ravages, it is not to be expected, the Affairs of the Church should go on in a regular Course. *East-Anglia* had never a Bishop for above two hundred

The Removal of the Episcopal Sees.

H h h

Years,

\* Oxford-shire.

Years, and in *Northumberland*, the Bishoprick of *Hagulfstad* was reduc'd to so wretched a Condition, that after having been a long Time without a Bishop, they were constrain'd at last to unite it to the *See* of *York*. During *Alfred's* Reign, the Bishopricks of *Leicester* and *Lincoln* were united, and the *See* remov'd to *Dorchester* \*, where it continued till the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, when it was translated back again to *Lincoln*. I have already mention'd the Erection of the three new Bishopricks in *Wessex*. This is all I have to say on this Head, unless I were to give a List of the Names of the Bishops that succeeded in each *See*, but that would lead me too far. Those who have a mind to it, may consult Dr. *Heylin*, who has publish'd a Book upon that Subject, wherein you have the Year of the *Instalment* of each Bishop.

The Councils.

The *Councils* that were held in this Interval, were properly *mixt Assemblies*, made up of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*, and term'd in *Saxon*, *Wittena-Gemot*, that is, an *Assembly of wise Men*, or rather, *Mycel-Synod*, which signifies in the same Language, the *Great*, or *General Assembly*. Both these Names are render'd in *Latin* by the Word *Concilium*. But because in these *Assemblies* the Laws and Ordinances relating to the *Church* as well as the *State*, were enacted, several of them are reckon'd among the *Councils* or *Synods*. As for *Synods*, consisting only of *Ecclesiasticks*, it does not appear there was so much as one, from *Egbert* to *Edward the Martyr*.

Synod of Graetley. 928.

Next to the Assembly of *Winchester*, where *Ethelwulph* is said to have given a *Grant* of the *Tithes*, the most considerable with regard to Religion, was the *Synod of Graetley*, in the Reign of *Athelstan*. The *Canons* or Laws of this Council are these.

The Ist enjoins the Payment of *Tithes* \*<sup>1</sup>.

The

\*<sup>1</sup> To which is added the King's Order to all his Officers and Governors, to maintain a poor Man in Diet and Cloaths. This seems to be at the King's Charge. They were each of them also to manumise a Slave.

The II<sup>d</sup>. commands the Magistrates to put the Laws in Execution against those that were convicted by all the Circumstances of an *Ordeal Tryal* \*<sup>1</sup>.

The III<sup>d</sup> is against Witchcraft and Highwaymen.

The IV<sup>th</sup> relates to the Towns where the Money was to be coin'd. At *Canterbury* there were to be seven *Mints*, four for the King, two for the Archbishop, and one for the Abbot of *St. Augustine's*. *Rochester* was to have three, two for the King, and one for the Bishop \*<sup>2</sup>.

The V<sup>th</sup> regulates the *Circumstances* and *Formalities* of the *Ordeal Tryal*, to know whether the Person accus'd were guilty or not. And here we have two things worth remarking. The first is, that the Priests are spoken of as fix'd or settled in certain Places. Whence it is plain, that in those Days they did not live together in *Common*; but each had his particular Church. The second is, that the accus'd Person was to receive *the consecrated Bread*. Whence it may be inferr'd, that since the *Eucharist* was call'd *Bread* after the *Consecration*, the Church of *England* was far from believing *Transubstantiation*.

The VI<sup>th</sup> forbids Buying and Selling on *Sundays*.

The VII<sup>th</sup> is against Perjuries and false Witnesses.

The VIII<sup>th</sup> orders the Bishops to assist the *Judges* in the Execution of the Laws, and to sit upon the *Bench* with them.

The IX<sup>th</sup> lays a Fine upon remis and negligent *Magistrates*, which was to be paid to the Bishop.

We find another *Synod* or *mixt Assembly*, in the Reign of *Edmund*, wherein the *Ceremonies* of Marriage, and *Preliminary Securities*, the Parties were to give one another, are settled.

H h h 2

I have

\*<sup>1</sup> See the Manner of this Tryal at length, in the Dissertation on the Government and Laws of the *Anglo-Saxons*.

\*<sup>2</sup> *London* was to have 8. *Winchester* 6. *Lewis*, *Southampton*, *Exeter*, *Shaftsbury*, *Wareham*, two each, and every other great Town was to have one. If any Person belonging to these *Mints* was found guilty of debasing the Coin (which was to be all of one Sort) his right Hand was to be cut off, and nail'd upon the outside of the *Mint*. See *Spelman Cron.* Vol. I.



I have given an account elsewhere of the *Council* where *Edgar* harangued so strenuously against the *Secular Priests*, and of several others, that were conven'd about the Controversy between the *Monks* and *Clergy*, and therefore shall say nothing more of them here.

Odo's  
Constitutions.

943.

To the *Ecclesiastical Laws* pass'd at these *General Assemblies* or *Councils*, may be subjoin'd certain *Constitutions* made in those Days. The ten following ones are *Odo's*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The Ist threatens all those who injure the *Church* in her Property, with *Excommunication*.

The IId exhorts *Princes* [and other *Great Men*] to be govern'd by the Directions of the Bishops, because God has entrusted them with the *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.

The IIId admonishes Bishops to discharge their Duty, without any *mercenary Views*, or Respect of Persons.

The IVth and Vth give good Advice to the *Clergy*.

The VIth does the same with regard to the *Monks*.

The VIIth prohibits unlawful Marriages, upon the Score of nearness of Relation: But the Degrees of *Consanguinity* and *Affinity*, are not recited.

The VIIIth recommends *Unity* and *Charity* among *Christians*.

The IXth presses *Fasting* on *Wednesdays*, *Fridays*, and the four *Ember-Weeks*.

\* Mal. iii. 10. The Xth enjoins the punctual Payment of *Tithes*, from Reasons taken out of the *Old Testament* \*, without any mention of *Ethelwulph's Charter*.

Other Constitutions.

There are other *Constitutions*, publish'd under King *Edgar*, but the Author of them is unknown. The principal ones are,

The Ist, which confirms the *Civil Privileges* and *Immunities* of the *Church*, and orders the Payment of *Tithes*.

And

And the Vth, by which the Solemnity of *Sunday* is to begin at three a-Clock on *Saturday* in the Afternoon \*<sup>1</sup>.

In this Reign were publish'd a *Body of Canons* \*<sup>2</sup>, of which the following ones are particularly remarkable.

By the Vth, if a *Priest* receiv'd any Injury, the Complaint was to be preferr'd to the *Synod*, who were to treat the Case, as if the Injury had actually been done to the whole Body of the *Clergy*, and take care that Satisfaction be made at the Discretion of the Bishop of the *Diocese*.

The XIth enjoins the Priests to learn some Employment, in order to get their Livelihood in case of Misfortune.

The XVIIth orders *Parents* to teach their Children the *Lord's Prayer* and the *Apostle's Creed*, without learning of which they were neither to be admitted to the *Eucharist*, nor buried in *consecrated Ground*.

The XXIXth forbids the burying in *Churches* all those that were not of known and approv'd Probity.

The XXXIId prohibits the Priests from officiating without the *Service-Book* before them, for fear the trusting to their Memories might make them mistake.

By the XXXVIth no Person was to *eat* or *drink* before the receiving the *Communion*.

The XXXVIIIth enjoins the Priest to have the *Holy Eucharist* \*<sup>3</sup> always ready by him: But in case it grew so *Stale* that it could not be eaten without disgusting the Palate, it was to be burnt in a clear Fire, and the Ashes laid

\*<sup>1</sup> And to continue till Break of Day on *Monday*, *Spelman* p. 444. *Edgar* made several other *Constitutions* for the Regulation of *Religious Houses*. In those in the Book belonging to *Winchester Cathedral*, *Edgar* makes himself *General*, as we may call it, of the *Monks*, and the *Queen of the Nuns*. *Spelman*, p. 447.

\*<sup>2</sup> These *Canons* were translated by Sir *H. Spelman*, from a *Saxon Manuscript* in *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*. 'Tis not known where or by what Authority they were drawn up. *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 186.

\*<sup>3</sup> That is, the *consecrated Bread*. Had they thought then, that our Saviour's *Flesh* and *Bones*, as the *Trent Chatechism* words it, had been present under the Appearance of Bread, they would never have burnt the *Eucharist* in this Manner.

laid under the Altar. It is easy to see by this, what the *Church's* Opinion was then of the *Eucharist*, since it was believ'd it could grow *Stale*, and that it was to be burnt after it was spoil'd.

The *LIIId* forbids the eating of *Blood* \*<sup>1</sup>.

After these *Canons*, there follows a very particular Form of *Confession*, with what *Penances* the *Confessor* is to enjoin. We find here that the *Penitent* was order'd to say the *Lord's Prayer* threescore times a Day, but not so much as one *Ave Maria*; a plain Case, that the praying to the *Virgin Mary* was not yet introduced into the Church.

Nothing more remains relating to the Church of those Days, but to give a brief Account of the most noted Persons for their *Piety* and *Learning*.

Swithin. The first *Saint* we meet with is *Swithin* or *Swithun* \*<sup>2</sup>, who, after he had been *Preceptor* to King *Ethelwulph*, was promoted to the *See* of *Winchester*. By his Advice *Ethelwulph* is said to have granted a *Charter* to the Church for the *Tithes*. This was sufficient to have gain'd him a *Sainthood*, though he had been distinguish'd upon no other Account. But besides this, he is affirm'd to have wrought abundance of *Miracles*, which I don't think proper to insert here.

Humbert. *Humbert*, Bishop of *East-Anglia*, massacred or, if you will, martyr'd by the *Danes*, with King *Edmund*, has the Honour also of being rank'd with the *Saints*.

Alfred. *Alfred the Great*, setting aside his Royal Dignity, was one of the most considerable for his *Piety* and *Learning* \*<sup>3</sup>.

*Johannes*

\*<sup>1</sup> The *LXIVth* declares *Hunting* and *Hawking* are improper *Diversions* for a Priest, who is to make Books his *Entertainments*. *Spel.*

\*<sup>2</sup> He was bred a *Monk* at *Winchester*, where he was made *Abbot*. *Malm.*

\*<sup>3</sup> He was twelve Years of Age before he could read, which he first began to learn upon this Occasion. His Mother seeing him one Day mightily delighted with a little Book, beautifully adorn'd with *Capital Letters* in *Gold* and other Colours, said, in his and his Brother's hearing, *She would give that Book to him that should first get it*



*Johannes Scotus*, firnam'd *Erigena*, that is, *Irishman*, Scotus. [*Ireland* being then call'd *Erin*,] liv'd at this time. He had acquir'd a great Reputation in *France*, where *Charles the Bald* entertain'd him at his Court, and us'd to converse with him with great Familiarity \*, when *Alfred* invited him over into *England*. At first he was the King's Preceptor in *Languages* and the other *Sciences*, afterwards he taught at *Oxford*, from whence, in all appearance, he was remov'd to *Malmsbury*, since it was in this *Monastery* that he is said to be stabb'd to Death by his *Scholars* with their Pen-knives. Before he left *France*, he had engag'd, by the Emperor's Order, in the Dispute concerning the Nature of the *Eucharist*. In his Treatise \* upon this Subject he had strongly argued against *Paschasius's* Doctrine, who maintain'd, that the *Body of Christ* in the *Eucharists* was the *Same* that was born of the *Blessed Virgin*. It must needs be that the contrary Opinion, defended by *Scotus*, was not look'd upon then as *Heretical*, since it prevented not *Alfred* from inviting him into *England*, having a very great Esteem for him, and entrusting him with the Education of Youth. It is even certain he was honour'd as a  
Saint

it by Heart. *Alfred*, who knew not so much as his *Letters*, tho' 12 Years old, applied himself so diligently to his Business, that he never left till he cou'd read and repeat the Book to his Mother. From this time, he had a great Relish for Books, and studied hard. There is extant of this Monarch's Works, relating to History, a *Paraphrastical Translation* of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, and a short *Genealogy* of the Kings of the *West-Saxons*. Posterity had so great a Veneration for his Memory, that he has the Title of *Saint* sometimes bestow'd upon him, and what is more, his Name stands in the *Calendar* of the *English Martyrology* printed in 1608, and in two *Saxon Calendars* cited by the *Annotator* on the *Saxon Translation* of the N.T. The day of his Death is registred on the 26th of *October*.

\* The Emperor one day, as he was sitting opposite to him at Table, ask'd him merrily, *Quid interest inter Scotum & Sotum?* He replied, *Mensa tantum*. Which the Emperor took in good Part. Hoved.

\*<sup>1</sup> This Book was condemn'd by the Council of *Verceils*, 1050. Bering. *Epist. ad Rich.* 'Tis now lost, tho' some will have it to be the same with that which goes by the Name of *Ratram* or *Bertram*. But *Mabillon* confutes this Opinion.

*Saint* and a *Martyr* after his Death. *Roger de Hovedon* says, *Scotus* at first had an obscure Burial: but that afterwards, a miraculous Light shining over his Grave for several Nights together, the Monks of *St. Laurence's* remov'd his Body into their Church, and buried it close by the Altar. His *Epitaph* also, the Antiquity whereof, according to *Malmsbury*, appears from the *Structure* and *Diction* of the *Verses* \*, is exprefs for his passing for a *Saint*, when that was made. All these Circumstances are a strong Presumption, at least, that *Transubstantiation* was not the Doctrine of the Church of England at that time. For had it been so, how was it possible the *English* shou'd honour as a *Saint*, one that had so openly combated their Opinion. This Inference a little puzzles the *Roman Catholics*. However, one of their Historians \* does not scruple to own, that the Name of *Scot* is registred in the SUPPLEMENT of the Gallican Martyrology, and commemorated among the Saints on the fourth of the Ides of November. He moreover adds, that his Name had been inserted even in the Roman Martyrology, and did remain there till expung'd by Cardinal Baronius. It is true, this Historian pretends, that *Scotus* retracted his former Errors: but gives us no Authority for what he says. He only alledges, that without a Recantation, it is not likely the Church wou'd have thus honor'd his Memory. But this is supposing that *Transubstantiation* was the Doctrine of the Church at that time, which must first be prov'd, before his Argument can be of any Force.

\* Cressly's  
Church-  
History of  
Engl. p.  
772.

Grimbald.

*Grimbald* liv'd also at this time: He was one of the first Class for his *Learning*, and had a great Reputation. He was invited over into *England* by *Alfred the Great*, who was acquainted with him at *Rheims*, and prefer'd him to the Government of the New Abby at *Winchester*.

Among

\* *Clauditur hoc Tumulo Sanctus Sophista Johannes,  
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate Miro,  
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere Regnum,  
Quo Meruit. Sancti regnant per Sæcula Cuncti.* *Malms.*



Among the Englishmen that were eminent for their *Learning*, *Afferius* was one of the most considerable. He wrote the Life of *Alfred the Great* in 893, and died Bishop of *St. Davids* in *Wales* \*. He was not the same with the Bishop of *Sherborn* of that Name, who died in 883.

*Afferius*  
*Meneven-*  
*sis.*

*Werefrid*, Bishop of *Worcester* in *Mercia*, liv'd in the Reign of King *Buthred*. When the *Danes* made themselves Masters of *Mercia*, he retir'd into *France*, from whence he was recall'd by King *Alfred*. He translated the Dialogues of *Gregory the Great* into *Saxon*; and having had a great Reputation when living, he was registred a *Saint* after his Death.

*Werefrid.*

*Plegmund*, who was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, pass'd for a very learned Prelate, and particularly eminent for his Skill in *Divinity*.

*Plegmund,*

*Dunulf* had been an Herdsman. He is affirm'd by some to be the same that shelter'd *Alfred*, whilst the *Danes* were Masters of the Kingdom. However this be, he had the good Fortune to be known by this Prince, who finding him a Person of a great Genius and much above his Birth and Employment, got him instructed in *Learning*, and promoted him afterwards to the See of *Winchester*. As this City was then the *Metropolis* of *Wessex*, where *Alfred* kept

*Dunulf,*

\* He was bred a Monk of *Menevia* or *St. Davids*, whom the King prevail'd upon, with much ado, to come to Court, on condition he shou'd stay their Six Months, and at his Abby Six Months, by Turns. He wrote the Life of *Alfred* to the 45th Year of his Age, (i.e.) to the Year 893, according to his Computation. It was continued to *Alfred's* Death by some later Hand. He shows thro' the whole a great Deal of Modesty. He mentions nothing of the visionary Dialogue 'twixt *Alfred* and *St. Cuthbert*, which other Historians largely insist on. He is copied by *Florence of Worcester*, and others. This Treatise was first Publish'd by Archbishop *Parker* in the old *Saxon* Character. A new Edition is lately put out by Mr. *Wife*, Fellow of *Trinity College Oxford*, with a Vindication of the contested Clause about the Antiquity of *Oxford*. Another Piece has been Publish'd by Dr. *Gale*, under the Title of *Afferius's Annals*. The Learn'd Editor does not question but 'tis the true Off-spring of *Afferius*. *Leland* calls it the *Chronicle* of *St. Neot's*; because he found it in that Monastery.



his usual Residence, he us'd the Advice of this Prelate in Affairs of the greatest Moment.

**Wulfig.** *Wulfig*, Bishop of *London*, had also a great Share in this Prince's Esteem, as appears by his Letter to this Prelate prefix'd to his Translation of *Gregory's Pastoral*.

**Neots.** *Neots* was an Abbot distinguish'd for his *Birth, Learning, Regularity*, and *Zeal* for promoting the Interest of the true Religion. Some say, he was nearly related to King *Alfred*, and others, that he was descended from the Blood-Royal of *East-Anglia*. He died in 890 in *Cornwal*, where he left his Name to the Town of *Neotstow* or *St. Neods* \*.

**Odo.** *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was the Son of an *East-Anglian Dane*. Tho' he was born of Pagan Parents, he had the good Fortune of knowing and relishing the *Christian Religion*, and for that Reason was expell'd his Father's House. In this Extremity, he put himself into the Service of an *English Nobleman*, who had him baptis'd, and put him to School. When he became capable, he went into Orders, in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*. His Zeal, Virtue, and Capacity, gain'd him so great a Character, that *Athelstan* made him Bishop of *Sherborn*. Some ascribe to the Efficacy of his Prayers, the glorious Victory this Prince obtain'd over the *Danes* at *Brunanburgh*. *Odo* had no less Interest with King *Edmund*, who resolv'd to promote him to the *Archiepiscopal See* of *Canterbury*: but *Odo* modestly excus'd himself, telling the King his Abilities were too slender for so High a Post. The King not admitting his Excuse, he further alledged, that *Translations* were not warrantable by the *Canons*. This Scruple being remov'd, by bringing for *Precedents* the *Translations* of *Iustus* and *Mellitus* from *Rochester* and *London* to *Canterbury*, he started another Objection, and alledg'd, that the Archbishops from *Augustin* downwards, having

\* Where he was buried, and when Earl *Alrick's* Seat in *Huntingtonshire* was turn'd into a Monastery upon his Account, his Body was remov'd thither, and the Town, before call'd *Ainulphsbury*, was from him nam'd *St. Neor's*. From whence his Bones were a third time remov'd to *Croyland Minster* in 1213.

having been all *Monks* \*, he look'd upon himself as unqualified for that *Station*, since he had not been educated under any *Religious Rule*. This new Difficulty was also got over by sending to the Abbot of *Fleury* in *France*, and entreating him to admit *Odo* into his *Society*. Thus this Prelate, having nothing more to object, accepted at length, though with a great deal of Reluctance, the See of *Canterbury*. As he became afterwards a vigorous Champion for the *Monks*, it may be presum'd, this was one of the chief Reasons of his being plac'd among the most illustrious *Ecclesiasticks* of his Time. He is said also to have the Gift of Miracles, which the Favourers of the *Monks* seldom fail'd of being honour'd with.

*Dunstan* would make a large Article here, did I not *Dunstan*, think, what I have elsewhere said of him sufficient to make his Character known. There are *Modern* Historians, even among the *Protestants* themselves, who, carried away by the Testimonies of the antient Writers, have given great Commendations to this pretended *Saint*, without considering upon what doubtful Authorities they proceed. It is highly probable, that *Dunstan's* firm Adherence to the *Monks*, was the Ground of those excessive Praises they loaded him with, and which, without that, he would not perhaps have been thought worthy \*.

The same may be said of *Ethelwald*, Bishop of *Win-* *Ethelwald*  
*chester*, and *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester* first, and after- and *Os-*  
wards Archbishop of *York*. Their great Zeal in the Cause wald.  
of the *Monks*, is doubtless what contributed the most to their Reputation. The *Monks* being almost the only  
Writers

\* There were several that in all probability were not *Monks*, as *Wigherd*, whom *Bede* (l. 4. c. 1.) calls a Priest, and *Nothelm*, who succeeded *Tatwine*.

\* The famous Story of *St. Dunstan* and the Devil is thus related by the *Monkish* Historians. As *St. Dunstan* was one Day busied in his Cell near *Glassenbury*, in making a Gold Cup of a curious Workmanship, the Devil appear'd to him in a beautiful Form, tempting him to Sin. *Dunstan* perceiving in Spirit who he was, takes up a red hot Pair of Tongs, and catching hold of the Devil by the Nose, made him howl in such a terrible Manner, that he was heard all over the Neighbourhood. *Hig. Polych. p. 270. Edit. Gale.*



Writers in those Days, have drawn their *Characters* according as they were prompted by their Prejudices and Interests.

**Turketul.** *Turketul*, King *Edmund's* near Relation and *Chancellor*, became famous in this Age, for preferring a *Cloister* to a Court, where he liv'd in great Reputation. But what enhanc'd his Merit the most with the Historians, was his rebuilding and restoring to its former Splendour, the Abbey of *Croyland* \*, demolish'd by the *Danes*.

\* *Turketul* left the Monastery at his Death in Possession of many curious Relicks; among the rest, *Ingulphus* (p. 51. *Hist. Croyl. Edit. Gale*) mentions the *Thum'o* of *St. Bartholomew the Apostle*, given him when Chancellor by the Emperor; he had so great a Veneration for it, that he always carry'd it about him, and when in any Danger, cross'd himself with it. The naming of Bells, together with the *Benediction*, as a defensive against Thunder and Lightning, being introduc'd in this Age by *Pope John XIV.* *Turketul* cast a great Bell, which he call'd *Guthlac*. His Successor taking the Hint, added some more to it, and made the first tuneable Ring of Bells in England.

The End of the first Volume.





## DIRECTIONS concerning the Genealogical Tables.

**H**ISTORY lays before our Eyes four things, which are Essential to it, 1. The Events: 2. The Place where: 3. The Time when they happen'd: 4. The Persons who were the Actors. If therefore, in order to understand a History perfectly, it is necessary to have a Knowledge of the Country where the Scene of the Actions lies, by means of Geography, and of the Times wherein they were transacted by Chronology; it is no less requisite to know the Persons concern'd by the Help of Genealogies, which very often discover the Motives and Reasons of things. Nay, Genealogy has this great Advantage above Geography and Chronology, whereas these last present to the Mind some particular Actions only, the bare Names in a Genealogical Table, form, if I may so say, an Abstract of all the remarkable Events in those Persons Lives.

Nothing is more easy than to make Genealogies; but it is very hard to draw them up in a clear and distinct Manner, and to observe a fix'd and constant Method, which represents to the Eye and Mind what one looks after, without the least Trouble. This I have endeavour'd to do, by the Means of the following Rules, which it will be proper to lay before the Reader.

1. The Genealogical Tables are divided by Horizontal Lines mark'd, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. On the first Line is plac'd the Name of the common Stock, whose Posterity is set down on the other Lines. Thus all that are plac'd on the same Horizontal Line (or between the same Figures) are at an equal Distance, or in the same Degree from the common Original. Hence may be seen by the cast of an Eye, the Number of Generations from the common Root, and the Degrees of Consanguinity between the Descendants. For Instance, in

K k k

the

## Directions for the Genealogical Tables.

the Table of Woden's Posterity, Woden being the common Stock of the Anglo-Saxon Kings, Hengist first King of Kent is plac'd on Line (6), by which is meant that Hengist is the 5th Descendant from Woden. Afterwards in the Genealogical Table of the Kings of Kent, Hengist is plac'd on a Line mark'd, 6, by which means one may immediately see how many Degrees any one of Hengist's Descendants were remov'd from Woden.

England ceasing to be under the Dominion of the Saxons by the Conquest of the Normans. Instead of Woden, William the Conqueror is made the common Root of the English Kings down to the present Time. Accordingly in the Genealogy of William the Conqueror, his Name stands upon the Line mark'd, (1.) to denote his being the Stock from whence all the others spring. For Instance, Edward III. in this Table, being on Line (9.) in the Table of his own Posterity he is plac'd at the same Number, to shew it is only a Continuation of the Genealogy of William the Conqueror.

2. The Sons are always plac'd according to the Order of their Birth, from the Left-Hand towards the Right, by which Means the eldest Branches are distinguish'd from the younger, at one view. The same Order is not observ'd with regard to the Daughters, who are plac'd in the void Spaces, so as to prevent the Lines from running out to too great a Length. But however the elder stands always on the Left-Hand of the younger Sister.

3. The Children of the same Prince are plac'd so that their Father stands in the Line over them, just in the Middle of them, which saves a great deal of Trouble and Confusion.

4. As the only End of these Genealogical Tables is to facilitate the Reading this History, several Persons who died young, or unmarried, or without Issue, and the like, are omitted.

5. One of the chief things which render Genealogies plain and useful, is to load them with as few Words as possible. By which means the blank Spaces will remain the larger between the Names, than which nothing contributes so much to make the Tables clear and distinct. This is the Reason the following

### Directions for the *Genealogical* Tables.

following Abbreviations are made use of, as, E. for Earl, D. for Duke, K. for King. Q. for Queen, W. for Wife, d. for died. The Names written in Italian Character, under those that are Part of the Genealogy, denote the Husbands or Wives. For Instance, { Sledda } This  
{ Rricula de Kent. }

*signifies that Sledda married Ricula Princess of Kent. When two or more Names are under another, with Numbers before them, this means, 1. Wife, 2. Wife, 3. Wife, or Husband, &c.*

6. Lastly, Each King has a Number annex'd, to denote the Order of Succession, and in what Rank each succeeded to the Crown. This is absolutely necessary in the Succession to the Throne of England, where the Order of the Branches was not always observ'd.



## Additions



## Additions and Corrections.

**P**AGE 290. after the Account of *Bede* in the *Note*, add, Contemporary with *Bede* liv'd *Stephen Eddi, Heddi, or Eddius*, in the Reign of *Osric* King of *Northumberland*, he died in 720. *Bede* says he was the best Singer in the *North*; on which Account he was invited to *York* by *Wilfrid* the Bishop, whose Life he wrote in *Latin*, in somewhat a better Stile than could be expected from that Age. This Treatise, which contains several material Passages relating to the Ecclesiastical as well as Civil State, having continued in Manuscript in the Library of Sir *John Cotton*, and also in that of *Salisbury*, was publish'd by Dr. *Gale* in his last Volume of *English Writers*.

Page 404. l. 6. at the Word *Execution*, insert by Way of Note. \* *Edgar* in the *Saxon Annals*, Anno 969, is said to have order'd all *Thanet* to be laid waste. *Brompton* says, it was for insulting his Laws. *M. Westminster* affirms, 'twas for seizing and plundering some *York Merchants* that touch'd upon the Island.

Page 20. l. 17. were, r. was. p. 27. l. 34. *Attacotes*, r. *Attacotts*. p. 85. l. 8, and 13. *Eleutherus*, r. *Eleutherius*. p. 90. l. 16. have, r. has. p. 93. l. 2. began, r. begun. p. 100. l. 3. Son, r. Brother. p. 104. l. 5. *Arcelute*, r. *Areclute*. *ibid.* l. 8. so far, r. was so far. p. 144. l. 31. was, r. were. p. 220. l. 17, and 22. *Crowland*, r. *Croyland*. p. 267. l. 6. *Merica*, r. *Mercia*. p. 271. l. 4. *Homeldes*, r. *Homelies*. p. 280. l. 13. for 765. r. 783. *ibid.* l. 14. for 767. r. 787. p. 212. l. 31. *Dgrees*, r. *Degrees*. p. 287. l. 8. Emperor r. Emperors. p. 295. l. 17. for 500. r. 150. p. 310. l. 12. set, r. fit. p. 315. l. 26. may, r. many. p. 332. l. 24. Affairs, r. Affair. p. 346. l. 22. To this, r. To this End. p. 348. l. 21. Secret, r. Cabinet. p. 366. l. 37. began, r. begun. p. 367. l. ult. n. *Pellefworth* r. *Polefworth*. p. 391. l. 25. to the amount, r. a Matter. p. 393. l. 37. observe, r. observ'd. p. 425. l. ult. n. Cron, r. Con. p. 431. l. n, 3. their r. there. p. 433. l. 23. and, r. of.



T H E

# T H E I N D E X.

N. B. K stands for King, K<sup>m</sup> for Kingdom, the Letter (n.) before the Number of the Page, means the Note at the Bottom of the Page.

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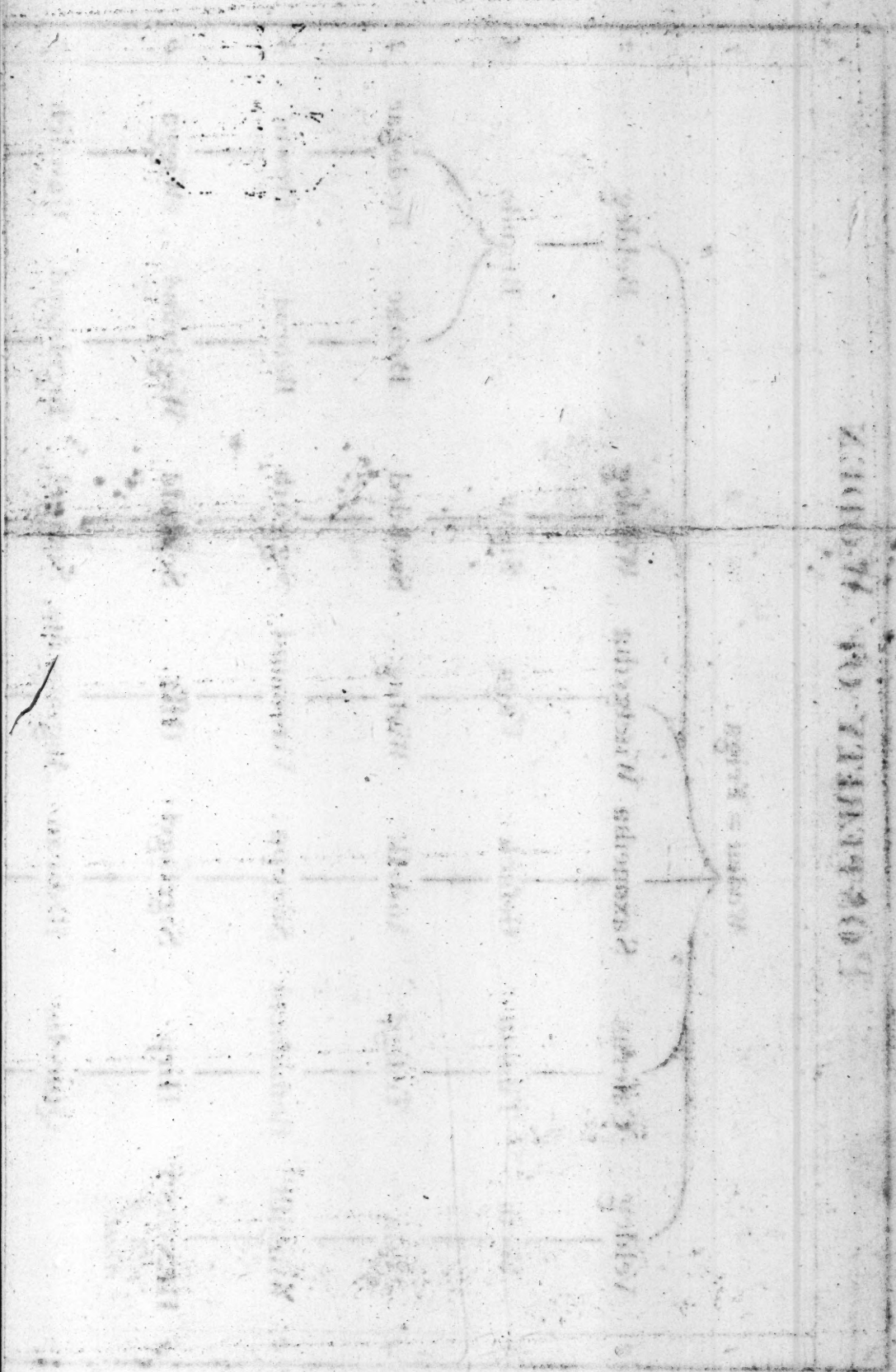
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COGNITION OF THE



# POSTERITY OF WODEN

Woden = Friga

1	Veldeg	Caferas	Saxonetha	Witelgetha	Webdeg	Beldeg	1
2	Vecra	Tilmon	Gefack	Vaga	Sigar	Brando	2
3	Vita	Trifigi	Andefk	Wileg	Swebded	Benac	3
4	Witigifi	Rothimund	Sweppa	Veremund	Siggoth	Beorna	4
5	HENGIST <i>1<sup>st</sup> K. of Kent.</i>	Hirp	Sigefugel	Offa	Sebbald	Wegbrand	5
6		Quicelm	Bedican	Angongetha	Setugel	Ingebrand	6
7						Gewifch	7

8	UFTA 1 <sup>st</sup> K. of East Anglia.	ERCENWIN 1 <sup>st</sup> K. of Essex.	Emmer	Swardha	Aloc	Ella	8
9			Icel	Sonnel	Angongetha	Elifus	9
10			Knobba	Westrofalenas	Ingongetha	CERDICK 1 <sup>st</sup> K. of Wessex.	10
11			Cunewald	Wilgrifi	Ethelbert		11
12			CRIDA 1 <sup>st</sup> K. of Meria.	Bufercas	Ella		12
13				Iffius	ELLA 1 <sup>st</sup> K. of Sussex.	Eoppa	13
14				ALLA 1 <sup>st</sup> K. of Deira in Northumberland.		IDA 1 <sup>st</sup> King of North.	14

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THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



# GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF EAST-ANGLIA

<sup>1</sup>  
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East Anglia d. 578.

<sup>2</sup>  
TITIL  
d. 599.

N... 1<sup>st</sup> Husband

N... Wife of  
Redowald

<sup>3</sup>  
REDOWALD  
d. 624

<sup>4</sup>  
ERPWARD  
d. 633

<sup>5</sup>  
SIGEBERT  
d. 644.

<sup>6</sup>  
EGRICK  
d. 644.

N...

Emmus

<sup>7</sup>  
ANNAS  
d. 654.

<sup>8</sup>  
ETHELPH  
d. after 680.

<sup>9</sup>  
ADELWALT  
d. 664.

<sup>10</sup>  
Saxburga  
Ercombert  
K. of Kent.

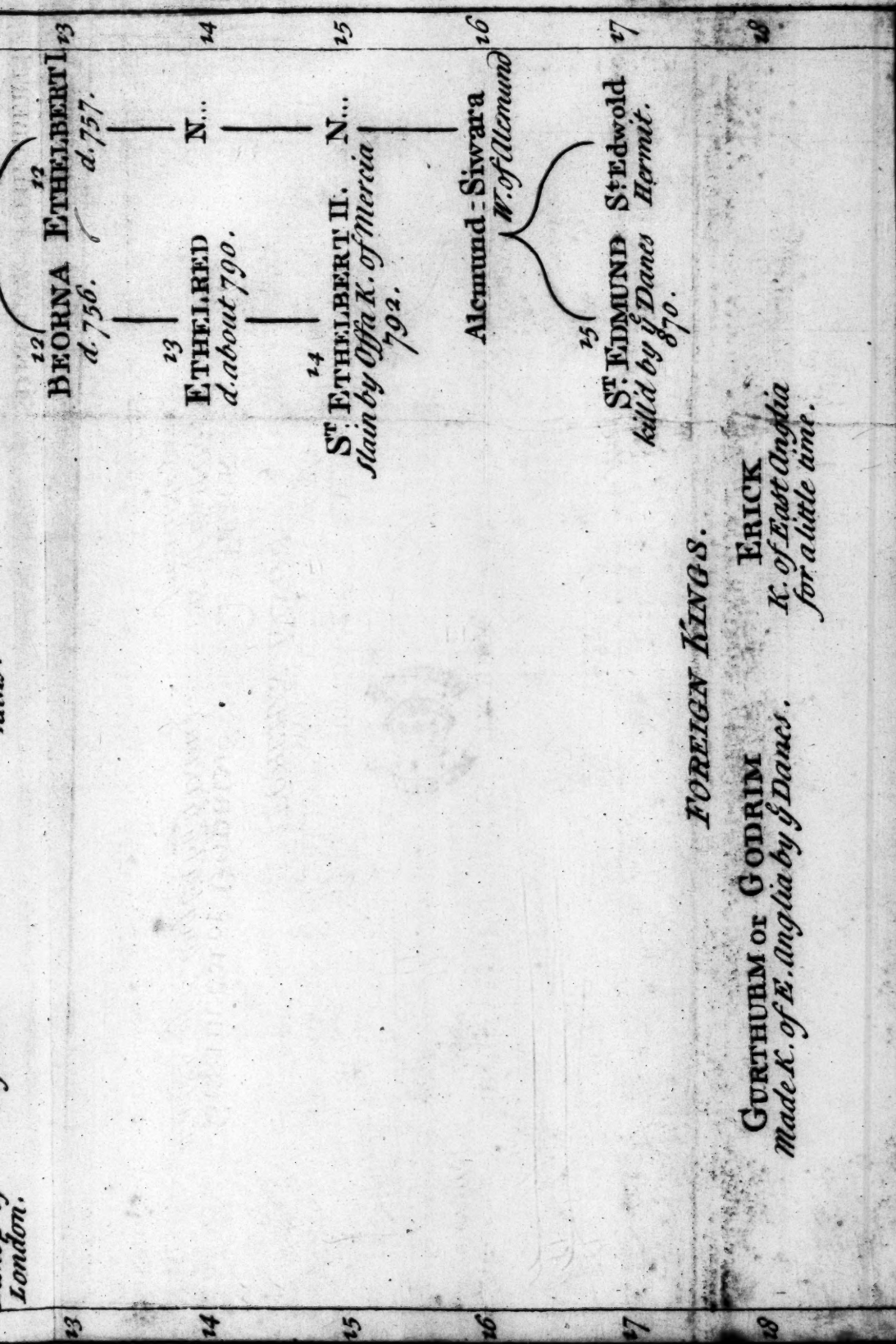
<sup>11</sup>  
Adeltrida  
St. Audry.

<sup>12</sup>  
Ethelburga  
Wifurga  
Nun.

<sup>13</sup>  
ALFWALD  
d. 749.

<sup>14</sup>  
BEORNA  
ETHELBERT  
d. 784.



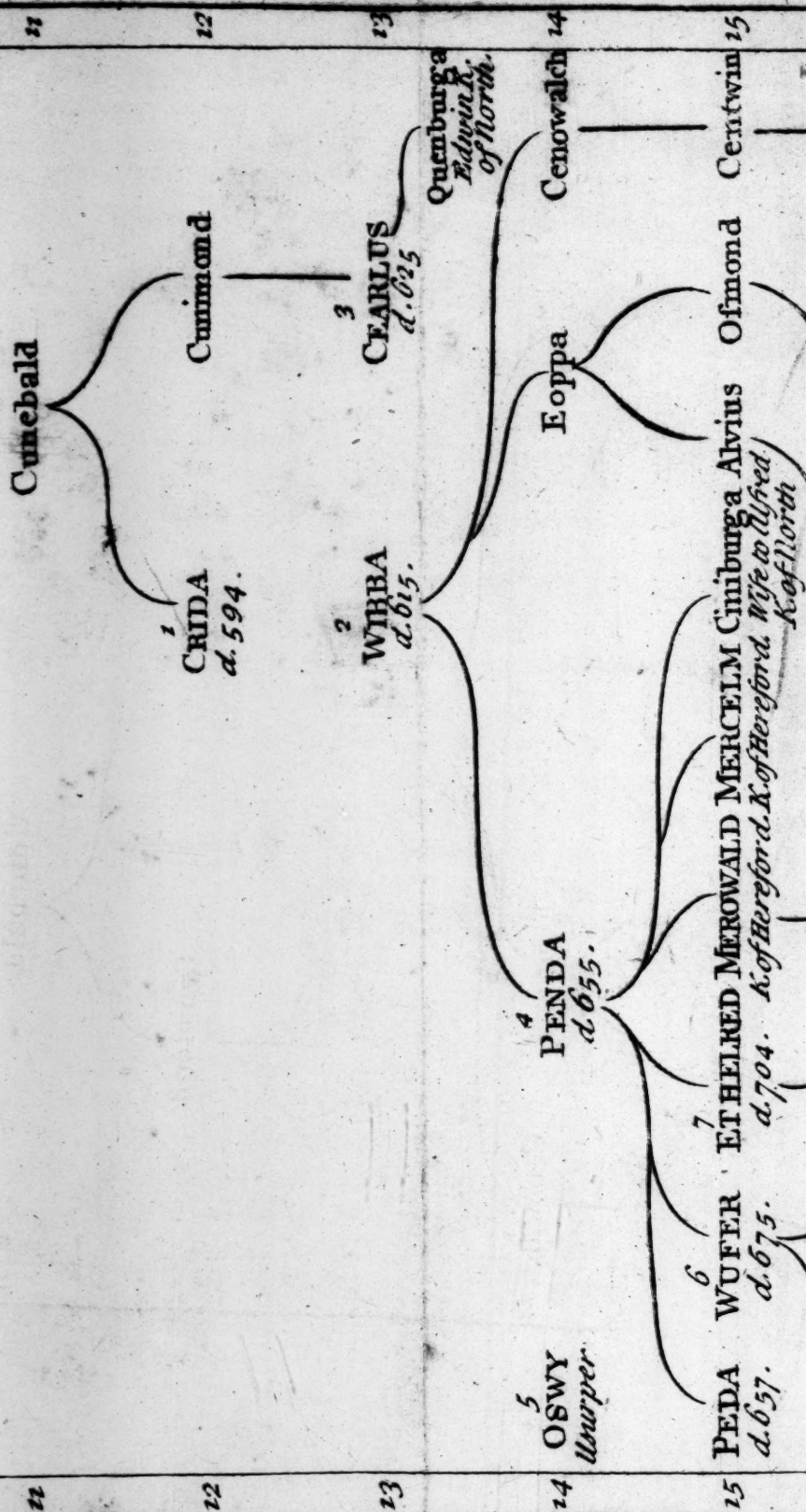


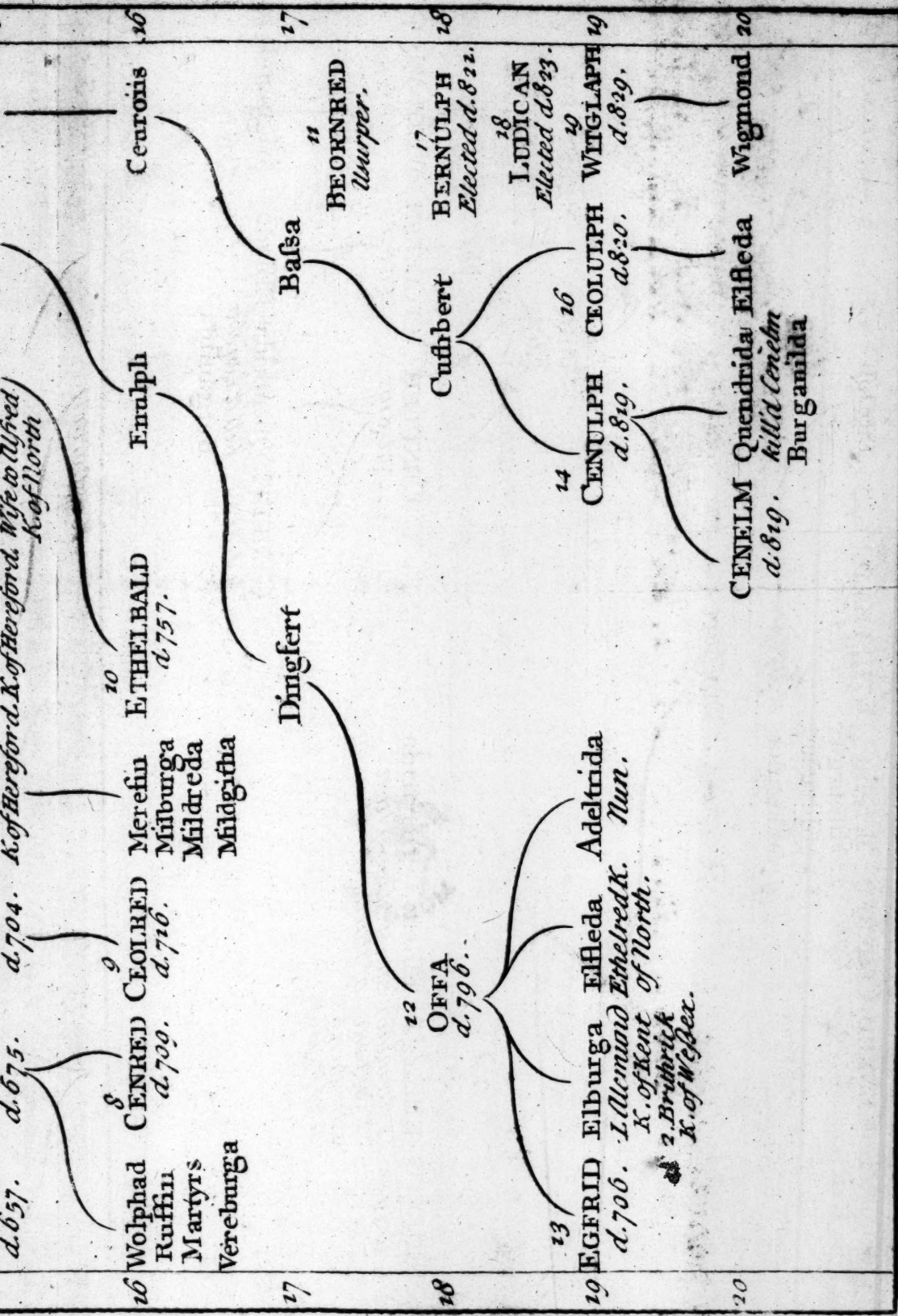






# GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MERCIA





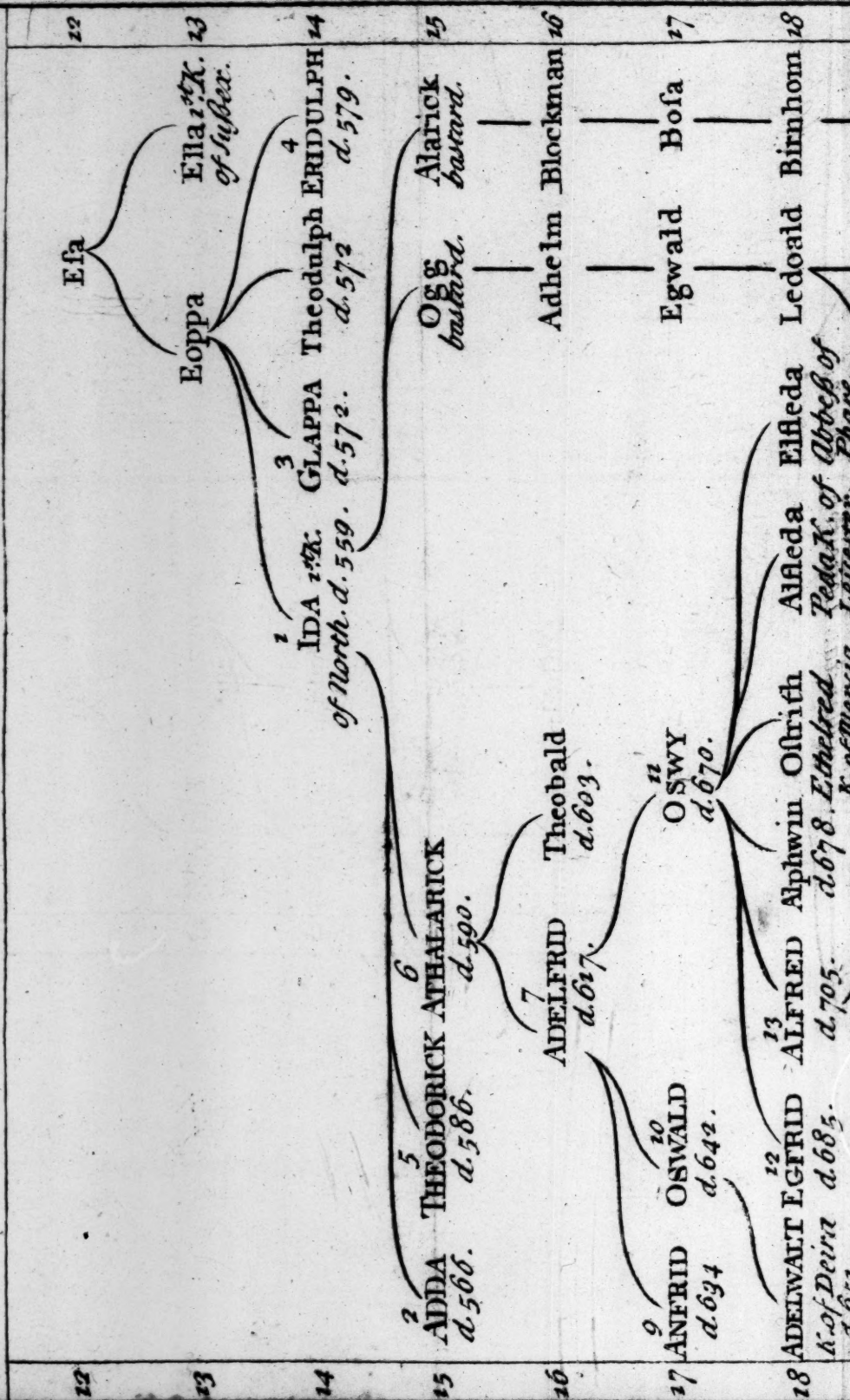




THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON



# GENEALOGY OF <sup>E</sup>Y KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND



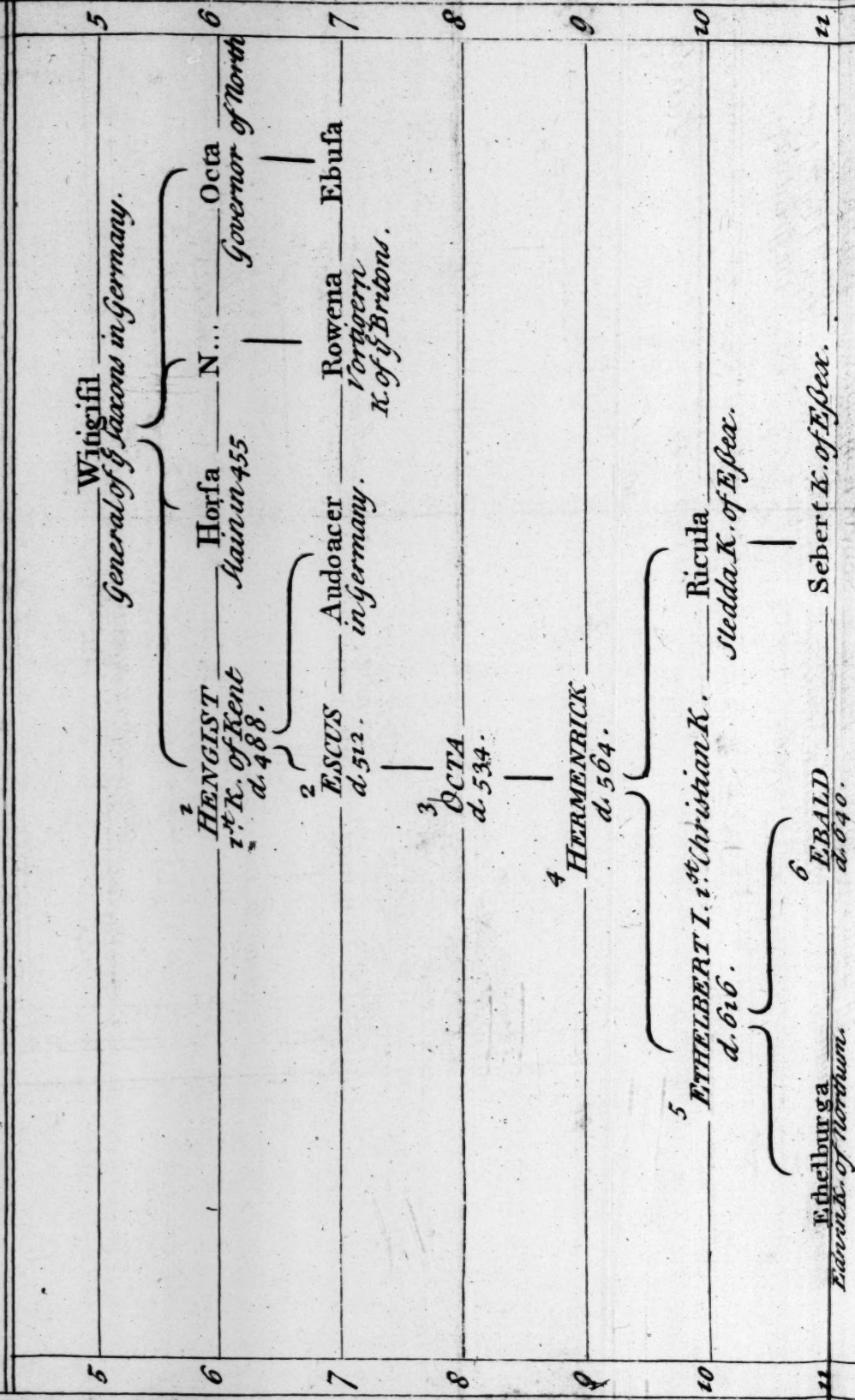
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# GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF KENT.







2



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# GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF SUSSEX.

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	16	3 <i>Cissa d. 590</i> <i>N... ANONYMUS d. 648.</i>	16
	17	4 <i>ADELWALCH married Edda Da. of Asfrid K. of Wight.</i>	17
	18	5 <i>BERTHUN</i> <i>d. 686.</i>	18
		5 <i>AUTUN</i> <i>d. 721.</i>	
		N... Son N... Son <i>Slain both by Iedwalla K. of Wessex.</i>	
		<i>ALBERT</i> <i>Elected 722</i> <i>d. 724.</i>	
		<i>OSMOND</i> <i>Elected 754</i> <i>d. 794.</i>	



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